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SOCIAL PROBLEMS

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May, 1928

The Century Social Science Series

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

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December 1929*

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PREFACE

This is an introductory text in sociology. There are many such and we should be loath to add another were it settled just how to introduce students to the subject. Experimentation must go on until the best method has been found.

We become aware of our bodies when some function goes wrong; we become aware of our minds when some impulse is thwarted; in like manner we become aware of society when its machinery fails to deliver the order, security, prosperity, or contentment we have counted on. In other words, the first anxious attention we bestow upon society comes from our waking up to the fact that there are "social problems." This is why the scientific study of society has grown up largely in consequence of attempts of thinkers to solve certain major problems of their respective ages.

Surely the best way to awaken in the student a curiosity about society is to take advantage of his preëxisting interest in the insistent problems of his community and his time. Show him how each has arisen out of a certain background and owing to certain conditions. He can hardly explore one of these definite and concrete problems without gaining the feel of the texture of social life. In his effort to account for its genesis, trace its effects, and appraise the possible solutions, he will gain insight into society.

In our judgment and on the basis of our experience in teaching introductory sociology, this descriptive course may well be followed by a historical course, which acquaints the student with the way in which social institutions arose—how we happen to have just the conditions and organization to be seen in our present society. We understand things when we know how they have come to be. Then the student has the basis on which generalization may with greater safety proceed.

At the end of each chapter, questions and exercises have been suggested. These are intended to be merely suggestive and should not be slavishly followed. Each instructor will want to develop this technique according to his own ideas. Only so can good teaching be done.

While the book is in a sense a joint product of the three authors, each author has been responsible for definite chapters. Mr. Gillin has prepared Chapters 22-30; Mr. Dittmer, Chapters 4-13 and 16-18; and Mr. Colbert, Chapters 1-3, 14-15, and 19-21.

THE AUTHORS.

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PART I

THE NATURE OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM



SOCIAL PROBLEMS

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

We as individuals are time and again confronted with perplexing personal problems. We all have moments when it seems that our utmost powers are inadequate; when all our energy and our intellectual resources are put to the severest tests.

Likewise, in the lives of nations and of peoples there come tense times—trying periods of unrest and of great change; periods which call for earnest and far-seeing leaders, for wise decisions, and for sweeping, decisive action. We are to-day living in one of these periods.

Many times, especially during the past two thousand years, the peoples of the Western world have gone through such periods of social upheaval and vast social change. It was one of these periods that crumbled the morally bankrupt Roman Empire and swept civilization into the dark ages. It was another of these periods which broke the spell of the middle ages and gave rise to the modern state, the Renaissance, and the Reformation.¹ It was just such periods that gave to England her Magna Carta, established these United States, crushed monarchy in France, abolished slavery, caused the World War, planted Bolshevism in Russia, and awakened China from her centuries of slumber.

Each of these great epochs of history altered the social structure of nations, and, in part at least, transferred from one group to another the responsibility for directing the affairs of men. In general each epoch tended to center an increasing amount of authority in the hands of the common people. While these changes in the social structure and in the source of authority were the more obvious, they were perhaps of less real significance than the vast changes in the ideas and the ideals of the people. In fact, the ideas and the ideals changed and gathered strength and conviction before the old forms and structures gave way to the new. The review of these great changes in social thought, which ushered in each succeeding

¹ Ellwood, Charles, *The Social Problem*, New York, 1919, pp. 72-75.

epoch, is of itself a subject worthy of many volumes and can scarcely be more than hinted at in our present study.² From the start it is important to remember that with each succeeding period came increasing consideration of the *general welfare*; little by little the old idea that the individual citizen existed for the welfare of the government and the ruling class gave way to the idea that the primary function of the government should be the furtherance of the general welfare of the people; the ideal of equal opportunity and equal justice to all gradually uprooted the ideas of *divine right*, special privilege, and arbitrary authority.

While the Western world has in the past thus struggled through great and perplexing problems, never has it been confronted with as vast and complicated problems as it faces to-day. Furthermore, the experience of the past offers but slight aid to the understanding and approach to the solutions of the large-scale problems of to-day. It is little wonder, therefore, that so many of our thinkers and writers view the present-day situation with dire apprehension. Some see in the modern trend the symptoms of moral decay that characterized the declining days of the Roman Empire and the maddening days of the French Revolution.³ Some feel that the unprecedented development and expansion on the material side of civilization has already reached a crisis, and that further progress is hardly possible until the spiritual forces and sound bases of human relations have had a chance to grow and develop accordingly.⁴

What, then, is the outlook? Is it true that the civilization of which we Americans are so proud is top-heavy with materialism, and is heading for a fall? Are we certain that the strain and stress of our times and the seeming ruthless disregard for the old standards are true symptoms of national decay, or may they be merely the evidence of "growing-pains" and thus a healthy promise of the development of a better social order? Whatever the outlook, we cannot escape the obligation of directing our best thought and our most earnest efforts toward the conservation of progress and the improvement of the common welfare.

Even though the problems of to-day are greater and more complicated than those which faced the generations of the past, we are in a better posi-

² The student who is interested in this phase of the subject will find the following books of interest and value: Barnes, Harry E., *Contemporary Social Theory*, New York, 1926; Bogardus, E. S., *A History of Social Thought*, Los Angeles, 1922; Lichtenberger, J. P., *Development of Social Theory*, New York, 1923.

³ Sadler, W. S., *Race Decadence*, Chicago, 1922; Stoddard, T. L., *Revolt against Civilization*, New York, 1922; Wells, H. G., *Salvaging of Civilization*; Ferrero, G., *Ancient Rome and Modern America*; LeBon, G., *The World in Revolt*.

⁴ East, Edward, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, New York, 1923; Ellwood, Charles, *The Social Problem*, New York, 1919; Figgis, J. N., *Civilization at the Crossroads*, London, 1912; Wallas, Graham, *The Great Society*, New York, 1917.

tion to cope with them than were the people of any other period. No other generation was so well equipped with the social sciences, or had such quick and effective means of communicating their ideas to every man, woman, and child in the population. May we not hope, therefore, that a better understanding of society, and of the great changes which are taking place in it, will help us to understand better our present-day problems and point the way to sound solutions? But, just what is the nature of this thing which we call society? What is its relation to civilization? What is the nature of the vast changes which mark this age as being the most baffling age of all history? What is the nature of the difficulties confronting mankind to-day? What is the relation of sociology to the study of social problems? We should have the answers to these questions in mind as we approach the study of social problems.

WHAT IS SOCIAL LIFE?

We have already used the word *social* a number of times, and its meaning is no doubt clear; but it is a term often used loosely and, to avoid possible confusion, it should be defined. Here, the word is used to indicate *those relationships, and products of relationships, by which the individual becomes identified with group life.*

Doubtless from his beginning man has been somewhat of a social being. Some sort of group life was ever essential to survival, and for this reason the group has always taken a hand in the shaping and directing of the life of its individual members. From the very beginning *group selection* has had an important part in the creating of what we call *human nature*—down through the ages the life of the individual has been circumscribed by an ever-expanding group life, and those individuals whose lives were not in accord with what was believed to be the best interests of the group were speedily killed, exiled, or shut off from contact with their fellows. Thus, this constant weeding-out process has tended to make man increasingly social. If group life could remain static; if it could cease expanding and cease becoming more and more complex, we would doubtless soon be rid of those individuals whose propensities are antisocial. However, it is the very nature of healthy group life to grow; and this growth exacts of the individual an ever-rising standard of social qualities.

Simple Group Life. Glancing back over American history we can see how the society in this country has expanded from the simple group of the pioneer days to the complex and interwoven nation of to-day. In those early days the family was held together by the home. The home was the center of practically all social life, and family loyalties and loyalty to

the home were the chief basis of appeals to action in behalf of either the community or the colony. But the dangers and the hardships of pioneer life brought increasing emphasis upon broader coöperation, and soon the people began to think in terms of their settlements and towns. The towns then became the dominant unit of community life, especially in New England. While they were supposed to be under the jurisdiction of the colonial governments, they were, as a matter of fact, practically independent, and were often resentful of, even opposed to, the orders from the colonial governors. Town loyalty became very intense, even to the extent of excluding from the town "strangers" and "foreigners" whose occupations or family connections might be suspected or unwanted. People from other towns and other settlements were treated with much the same suspicion and aloofness as is generally accorded the Oriental or South European immigrant to-day.

These early colonial and pioneer settlements were practically self-sufficient. They raised all their own food, made all their own clothing, and had their own particular respective brands of religion; each household provided its children with whatever education was felt necessary; the town meetings and the town board of selectmen made the laws and regulations which were imposed upon the inhabitants, affecting even the minutest details of their lives. Those were days when social life was indeed personal. The treatment accorded the poor, the sick, or the orphan depended to a large extent upon how the community regarded the particular individual and his family; if he came from a "good" family and belonged to industrious, pious folk, he might receive the kindly, neighborly consideration which he needed; if, however, he "had no family," or belonged to people known to be "idlers," or if he was careless about attending church or happened to differ in belief from the rest of the community, then the attention given was indeed meager. The treatment accorded the offender and the insane was likewise personal and severe. When whipping-post, stocks, or branding iron seemed too mild, the culprits were "run out of town." Life in these small, self-sufficing communities was simple; there was no complex division of labor; the government was direct and understood by all; there were no experts or specialists, no daily papers or magazines laden with advertising to make people dissatisfied with their drab existence, or to lead their interests away from the slow-moving life of the town.

Expansion of Group Life. Had it not been for the independence of the colonial groups, and their developing opposition to the dictates of the colonial governors, it is doubtful if the Revolutionary War would ever

have taken place. But this common opposition to local interference furnished the stimulus for the expansion of social life. As we have already noted, it was the appeals to the local loyalties which brought the colonists together to fight for the cause of liberty. Gradually the local loyalties expanded into state loyalties, and the states began to share with the local communities the obligations and the interests of the people. The emphasis on States' rights clearly indicated that the social mind had not yet grasped the idea of nation, nor did it appreciate the attempts of the federal government to share obligations and services with the states. Then, the different sections of the United States began to absorb the loyalty that for a time had been given to the states. The contrast in social and economic life between the states of the North and those of the South gradually crystallized and became a severe strain on the efforts to create and develop a national life; in the North, because of the more rapid industrial development, local and state loyalties had largely become subordinate to national loyalty; but the South still believed in "States' rights," though much sentiment had been transferred to the section. It took the Civil War, and a long and trying period of reconstruction, to make these United States really conscious of national unity and national interdependence. It is too much to say that this expansion into a solid national life is entirely complete; there is still no little evidence of sectionalism. Nevertheless, there is a growing recognition of the fact that we are living together, not as states, but as a nation, and many of the functions which were only a short time ago regarded as belonging exclusively to the states are now being urged upon the federal government—regulation of business and trade, child-labor laws, prohibition, uniform legislation regarding marriage and divorce—these are but a few examples of this tendency.

Even before nationalism has been fully achieved, there looms upon the horizon another great expansion—*internationalism*. Since industry and commerce depend upon the natural resources which are so unevenly distributed among the nations of the earth, and since communication and travel have thrown the peoples of the world into closer contact with one another, there has been a growing consciousness of the inadequacy and the futility of national isolation. The World War dramatically brought this fact home to us. But can we melt down our national loyalties into the common mold of an international society? ⁵ The melting-down of the lesser loyalties was by no means easy. Each expansion was purchased at a great cost; each was entered upon with grave misgiving, with "reservations,"

⁵ Josey, C. C., *Race and National Solidarity*, New York, 1923.

and in the face of "irreconcilables." However, these great expansions of social life are now practical realities. May we not, therefore, expect that an international society will some day also be a reality? ⁶

Relation of Expansion to the Functions of Social Life. While each expansion was made at the expense of the smaller cycles of social life, claiming some of the interest, service, and loyalty that before were centered exclusively in the smaller cycles, these smaller cycles have not disappeared. They have indeed been modified, but they continue to be of fundamental importance. Each type of group has certain functions which cannot be absorbed or completely transferred to larger groups. Thus, for example, the functions of the family have been greatly modified, as we shall see when we come to study the problems of family life, but nevertheless the family still remains a primary and fundamental group. The neighborhood and the community have also been radically changed, but they too still retain many important functions: no two neighborhoods or communities are alike; each presents a variety of conditions and circumstances different from all others, making it necessary for the state and the nation to leave much to be done by these smaller groups in order that social life may be better adjusted to the local needs. But just what functions should remain the obligation of the smaller groups, and which functions would better be performed by the larger groups, is a question which lies at the bottom of many social problems and constitutes an important issue in many of the major social adjustments.⁷

Relation of the Expansion of Group Life to the Individual. The group, as we have already noted, circumscribes and, to a large extent, directs and shapes the lives of its members. However, not all aspects of group life exert equal pressure upon the individual; some aspects affect him more directly and more intimately than others. This fact becomes more evident as group life expands and becomes more and more complex.

Even in the family the individual is not the center; he is more concerned with certain family functions than he is with others; some obligations and duties affect him more directly than do the others. Likewise in each cycle of social life the individual cannot escape being somewhat affected by even the most remote factors and conditions; but he is more interested in, and more concerned about those matters which he feels most keenly and sees most clearly. Thus, he may not be actively interested in a playground for his neighborhood, if his children are already grown. He

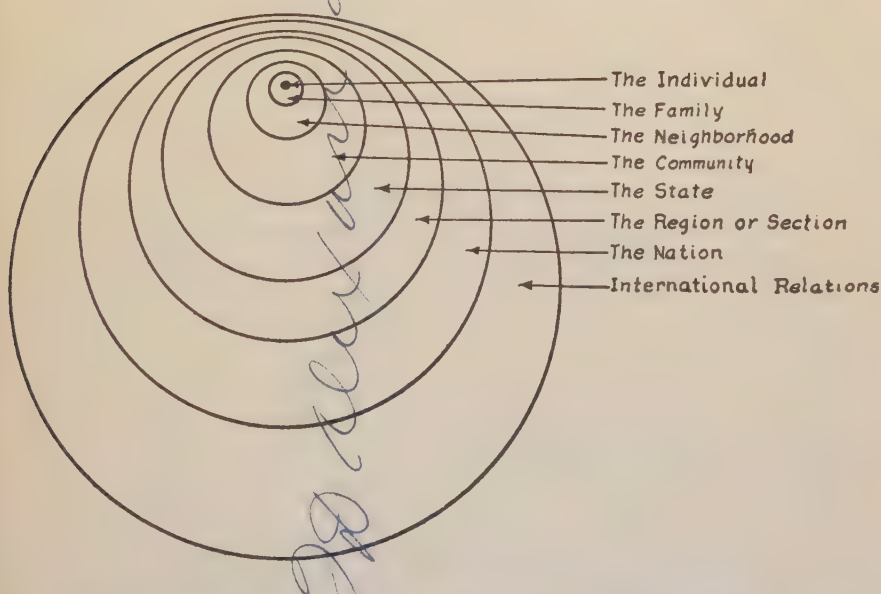
⁶ Ross, E. A., *The Social Trend*, New York, 1922, Ch. XIV.

⁷ Williams, J. M., *The Expansion of Rural Life*, New York, 1926; Pound, Roscoe, "Some Problems and the Courts," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XVIII, 1912, pp. 334-338; Freund, E., *Police Power*, Chicago, 1904, pp. 1-3, 6-7, 25, Sec. I.

may not like the ugly bill-boards that clutter the vacant lots; but he is not generally much concerned until a bill-board stares into his windows. He may not be much interested in prohibition, being neither a drinker nor the son of a drinker. As owner of an automobile he is strong for good roads. He is interested in the impending coal strike because he would be out of employment if the mill does not receive its regular supply of coal. He is

FIGURE I

THE RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE EXPANSION OF GROUP LIFE



opposed to unrestricted immigration because he is convinced the foreigner would take his place at a lower wage, and he would have to hunt a new job or sell his car. A generation ago his parents came to this country from Germany; he is, therefore, interested in international relations affecting Germany; but he is little interested in what happens in China.

So it goes. No two individuals are affected just alike by the expansion of social life. This explains why it is so difficult to get the whole public behind social reform. The major task of the social reformer, therefore, consists in presenting the needed reforms in such terms as will bring them as near home as possible to each individual, so that he will feel that he

can and *must* do something about them. This task is by no means easy, as the average citizen is already bewildered with the thousand and one "important issues" demanding his interest and support.

WHAT IS SOCIETY?

All this group life is nicely interwoven into a *system* which we call *society*—a system for *thinking together* and for *doing things together* for the achievement of common ends.⁸ Society, then, is the product of association; it is the fruit of group life. Society constitutes the whole fabric of group life and interrelationships—it is our *social inheritance*. We are members of society to the same extent that we are affected by the utmost expansion of group life. "Self and society are twin-born, we know one as immediately as we know the other, and the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illusion."⁹ We cannot, therefore, conceive of society as something apart from individuals and groups; but we cannot thereby conclude that each individual and group is a true reflection of the whole of society. Professor Cooley likens society to a picture which is made up of so many square inches of painted canvas.¹⁰ Each square inch of canvas represents an individual or group. If we take up and examine these bits of canvas one at a time, we would see that each reflects something that is characteristic of the picture; but the whole theme of the painting, its organization and structure, is not thus made apparent. We must view the canvas as a whole, each square in its proper place, to understand fully and appreciate what it is all about. Thus, by centering our attention upon individuals and groups, we cannot get an accurate view of the *system* and *organization* which makes up society.

When we view society in this large way we see that it is composed of

*The term *society* is often used loosely. Sometimes it is used as a synonym for the word *mankind* or the word *humanity*. Often it is used to indicate leisure-class pretenses. It is frequently used instead of the word *association* or the word *organization*, as "The Society for the Friendless," or "The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children." Then, too, it is often used to indicate various groups, as "American Society," "German Society," and "New England Society," or to indicate various group aims, as "sympathetic society," "socialistic society," "despotic society," and "acquisitive society."

As to the nature of society there are numerous theories—for example, the so-called "social contract theory," the "social organism theory," and the "political animal theory." But whatever the theory, no one doubts the existence of society. Blackmar and Gillin venture the following definition, which summarizes the important elements in the definitions offered by the leading sociologists: "Society, then, may be defined as any group of sentient beings who are more or less alike, who recognize more or less clearly that fact, and who have recognized common interests in their social relationships." (*Outlines of Sociology*, Revised, p. 8.)

⁸ Cooley, C. H., *Social Organization*, New York, 1909, p. 5.

¹⁰ Cooley, C. H., *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York, 1902, p. 3.

four outstanding and closely interwoven fundamentals: *groups, uniformities, standards, and institutions*.¹¹ The chief difference between the complex society of to-day and the society of the past is to be found in the changes which *time* and *progress* have made in these fundamentals. Furthermore, it is in these fundamentals that the roots of the present-day social problems are embedded. Consequently, if we are to understand fully the nature and scope of the great problems of society to-day, we must study them in relation to these fundamentals of society.

Interest Groups and Their Relation to Society. Probably the most conspicuous of these four fundamentals of society is the social groups. We have been in the habit of grouping people according to race, language, nationality, religion, and station. However important these bases of grouping were in the past, they are of little and decreasing importance to-day. The groups which matter most to-day are the *interest groups*. It is the expanding and intensifying of the interest groups which at once furnish us with cause for our highest hopes and our gravest doubts regarding the outcome of the great changes taking place in society to-day. They furnish us with our highest hope, because it is only through group action that progress can be made to-day. They give us cause for apprehension, because group conflict is waged with more devastating weapons than were ever known to the men of any other day.

With the beginning of the Industrial Revolution the interest groups began to take the reins of power away from other groups or classes. Then followed the vast improvements in communication and transportation, and the equally astounding developments of science. We shall deal more in detail with these movements in later chapters, but here it is important to notice that these great movements have converted the interest groups into dynamos of social progress.

These movements made specialization necessary in almost every phase of human endeavor, hence the formation of more definite interest groups than was possible in any other period. As this specialization proceeds, the fields narrow, and each group devotes itself to a smaller segment of the world of experience, science, discovery, thought, and achievement. While this specialization achieves greater efficiency and more rapid progress, it makes each interest group more dependent upon the other groups for support. Each group, therefore, passes the benefits of its knowledge and experience to others, making the bonds of interdependence and coöperation deeper and stronger. We need cite but a single example to make this clear:

Let us consider the field of health. Medical science has made wonderful

¹¹ Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1920, Part IV.

progress during the last half-century. To a very large extent this progress is due to the development of conscious group interest among medical men,

FIGURE 2

THE RELATION OF INTEREST GROUPS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY



surgeons, nurses, and public health officials. The results are expressed in the phenomenal reduction in the general death-rate, reduction of the infant mortality rate, the lengthening of the average life, addition to the productive power of man through the conservation of his vitality and working

energy and by practically eliminating many of the menacing plagues and diseases that until a generation ago annually swept off thousands. In fact, it is not too much to say that the average citizen of America to-day is better informed in matters of health than were the country doctors of a century ago.

The personnel of almost every phase of human endeavor—for instance, producers, manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, artists, social workers, craftsmen, laborers, and farmers—has organized into a more or less definite interest group. And, to no small extent, the contribution which they are making to society, as well as the benefits they receive in turn, are in proportion to the effectiveness and strength of their organizations.

Uniformities and Standards. Society tends to produce uniformities and standards, *i.e.*, to spread culture and achievement so that its benefits are felt equally by all its members with highest possible effectiveness. Interest groups are the greatest vehicles of this dissemination of uniformities and standards. With each expansion of groups, with each improvement in travel and communication, with each advancement in science and knowledge, the strain to wipe out cultural differences and attain the highest standards for all becomes greater. How quickly the benefits of science are disseminated is illustrated by the rapid spread and use of the new discoveries in the field of medicine. A few years ago, two scientists in Toronto discovered insulin, an effective cure for diabetes, and in less than a year physicians all over the world were relieving thousands of sufferers of that dreaded disease. Inventions, too, spread with amazing rapidity. Witness the swiftness with which the automobile has displaced the horse on our roads; note how, since the World War, the radio has taken possession and brought concerts and speeches within hearing of even the most isolated!

In order to appreciate how the great advances in science, invention, discovery, and thought have spread, we need only to compare the *standard of living* of the workingman's family to-day with the standard of living of the same class of workingman's family of but a generation ago. And, as we have indicated, the strain and struggle to maintain and to advance that standard of living becomes increasingly great. But the aim of society is ever directed to the task of bringing uniform advantages to all. Hence, wherever a family, a neighborhood, or a community is "backward," *i.e.*, not in a position to enjoy these uniform advantages, social agencies are directed to the task of removing the obstacles and developing the resources so that "normal life" may be the possession of all. In the old days, when social life was simple, this task was not so difficult; but the complex and expanded social life of to-day makes the task one which calls for the

trained specialist. The recognition of this fact has given rise to a new profession, *social work*, which means *scientifically developing and adjusting human relations in a way that will secure normal life to individuals and communities and encourage individual and community progress.*

Institutions. Social institutions represent the more steady and more fixed fundamentals of society. They represent the crystallization of methods of guiding and controlling social relationships.¹² They are more firmly rooted in the past and, unlike science, tend to test conduct and social relations by the dictates of precedent rather than by experimentation. We might say that they are the rigid, bony skeleton about which the flesh of our social system grows. Society could no more function without them than the muscles of our bodies could function without our bones.

There are scores of social institutions, great and small, but in general they group themselves about a few pivotal fields of human relations.¹³ Thus marriage, the home, and divorce are some of the most important institutions pertaining to the family and the regulation of relations of the sexes; the church is the outstanding institution for instruction and service in the field of religion; around the function of government are clustered numerous institutions, such as the courts, the jails, the prisons, and the military; in the realm of culture are the schools, the libraries, the museums, the newspapers, and the universities; in the field of economic relations are the institutions of money, banking, stock and produce exchanges, and markets; in the field of health and welfare is an ever-increasing number of institutions, such as hospitals, clinics, health centers, orphanages, homes for the aged, and colonies for the feeble-minded; and in the field of recreation there is also an increasing number of institutions, such as baseball parks, playgrounds, moving-picture theaters, the legitimate theaters, vaudeville theaters, and dance-halls.

It is at once apparent that the study of social problems must concern itself to a very large extent with those conditions and changes which affect the social institutions.

THE RELATION OF SOCIETY TO CIVILIZATION

Now what is the relation of *society* to *civilization*? Since society, as we have just seen, cannot be conceived as something apart from its individual members, we might say, in contrasting it with civilization, that society is *what we are*, while civilization is *what we have*. But this does not adequately explain the nature of civilization.

¹² Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, Revised, New York, 1923, p. 97.

¹³ Taylor, C. C., and Brew, B. F., *Human Relations*, New York, 1926.

Somehow we have come to think of civilization as being a great moral force—a *civil-izing* power—a lofty condition which makes men better, more social, more thoughtful and considerate of one another, more respectful to law and order, and more constructive. It is generally regarded as the sum total of intellectual development, and is often pictured as a lighted torch, illuminating the road to human progress. We thus see it in opposition to ignorance, superstition, and primitive-mindedness.

Then, too, we are at times inclined to doubt that civilization is really a moral force. Time and again we have heard folks ask, with a sigh of disappointment, "How could the World War have happened in this day and age of civilization?" At times it seems that civilization is but a thin veneer, which, during peace and prosperity, hides the savage and selfish nature of men, but in times of stress cracks and peels off; that after all it has had little or no effect upon the growth of a higher moral nature in man. In fact, some of the earlier social scientists insisted that civilization had nothing to do with moral progress; that morals was a matter of character and not related to intellectual progress; that since it was a matter of character, it could change and advance only as the fundamental inborn qualities of men changed and advanced. They, therefore, believed that moral progress was achieved only through the slow process of physical heredity, and not through any educational or intellectual achievements.¹⁴

What then is the true nature of civilization? Shall we abandon the hopeful thought that it is a vast moral force, and seek to better man's social nature only through the slow-moving channels of *eugenics*? Or, may it not be both possible and probable that, through the ever-increasing knowledge of science, we may achieve solutions to our vast present-day problems by *consciously* directing this knowledge into channels of purposeful plans and programs for social betterment?

Civilization, in its true nature, is the gradual accumulation of all the best achievements of the human race, both *material* and *moral*. "The actual removal of the social evils constitutes moral progress; the discovery of principles and the invention of appliances calculated to remove them constitutes material progress."¹⁵ Civilization and society are of common origin

¹⁴ Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was perhaps the most outstanding proponent of this doctrine of moral and social progress. He regarded civilization as merely the accumulated product of man's intellectual achievements and as being as void of moral force as any tool. He insisted that civilization is neutral, so far as morals is concerned, and as likely to be used for purposes of destruction as for purposes of construction. He even went so far as to say that the "blind confidence" placed in this intellectual development was actually hindering true moral growth, by preventing people from seeing and understanding the true nature of the problem, *i.e.*, physical heredity.

¹⁵ Ward, Lester F., *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, New York, 1915, Vol. IV, p. 6.

and each has aided the development of the other. While civilization is made up of both moral and material progress, this does not mean that the moral growth follows the same principles that characterize the growth of material progress. Moral progress is a product of *feeling* and *sentiment*; material progress is a product of *thought* and *labor*. Moral progress takes place rhythmically—in spiral cycles, as it were; material progress is a continuous adding of one improvement after another, of one invention or discovery based on the preceding inventions and discoveries. Moral progress is expressed in our attitudes and our behavior toward our fellows; material progress is expressed in our industry and production of commodities. "Moral action aims at the restraint and control of the forces of society, of human desires, prejudices and passion; invention and discovery aim at the control and utilization of physical and mechanical forces." ¹⁶

Moral progress, therefore, always lags behind material progress, and, because it is based on the feelings and sentiments, and concerned with the functions of social control, becomes more or less rigidly fixed in the social institutions. Now and then, when moral progress has gotten far in the rear of material progress, it has attempted to resist the forward movement of "materialism." There is no little evidence that these attempts are being made to-day. While material progress may thus for a time appear to be checked, it has never been forced backward. "Every age has possessed all the arts of the age that preceded it, and has added something to them." ¹⁷

The Struggle to Improve. Civilization, then, is the product of man's continual struggle to improve. Much of this struggle is directed toward harnessing the forces of nature, in order that the struggle for existence may be less harsh, survival more certain, and life more pleasant. But not infrequently the struggle to gain moral progress has been even more devastating and severe. Moral progress has been more a struggle of man with man, and to no small extent it has been a struggle to accommodate social control to the needs of material progress. As a matter of fact, most of the moral progress has come about as an indirect result of material progress.¹⁸ Thus, as we shall presently see, the great progress in invention and discovery has made social life increasingly complex; human interests clash at an ever-increasing number of points, thoughts and feelings travel faster and further than ever before, and close personal relations give way to the vast and vague impersonal. The moral standard of the small and simple community of a generation ago is no longer adequate to guide and control personal conduct. A new and a *deeper* moral growth must possess

¹⁶ Ward, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

the man of to-day if he is to live a healthy social life. No longer can one "code" of morals be applied to the man and an entirely different "code" applied to the woman. The impersonal society in business, commerce, recreation, and travel demands a common standard for each—a "moral sense" deeper and more compelling than was needed by individuals in any other age.

But the struggle to improve has expanded with each expansion of group life. Material progress has already swept across nations, and our industry, commerce, and business extends to "the four corners of the world." But our moral progress seems not great enough to reach beyond national lines. We have made but slight progress in the growth of international morality. There is even a doubt that our national morals have grown to the point of extending as far as the Monroe Doctrine extends! We are hardly ready to do unto other nations that which we would have them do unto us!

The Central Purpose of Society. Civilization has ever presented to society two great inequalities—inequality of knowledge and inequality of material wealth. The central purpose of society, guided by its degree of moral growth, has been directed toward the reduction of these inequalities.¹⁹ It seeks not merely to spread these fruits of civilization so they will extend to each individual, but it is ever alert to encourage the growth of knowledge and to increase the volume of wealth produced.

In the path of this central purpose, society is confronted with many perplexing problems. And it is with these problems that we are now concerned.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What ground have we for pessimism regarding the future of civilization in the Western world? Contrast the present-day tendencies with those of France, before the French Revolution; and with those of Rome, during the decline of the Roman Empire.

¹⁹ Ward, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 11.

2. To what extent are you dependent upon each type of group life—family, neighborhood, community, state, nation, and international? How does this affect your attitude toward each of these?
3. Make a list of the interest groups in your home community, with which you are familiar. With how many of these interest groups is your family connected?
4. What social service agencies are there in your community? What does each attempt to do for the community? What phases of civilization are they attempting to make uniform in the community?
5. Compare the functions of the home in your grandfather's day with those of the home of to-day. What new institutions have developed to provide the activities once centered in the home? What effect has this change had on the maintenance of family unity?
6. What two types of progress characterize the evolution of civilization? What influences and conceptions have been most helpful in this evolution?
7. How do you account for the necessity of prohibition of the liquor traffic to-day and the social sanction of drinking a few generations ago? What has brought about the change in moral standard?
8. Is there reason to believe that we are less moral to-day than in the days of our forefathers? Or is it probable that our moral standards are higher? Explain your answer.

50/100 X dynamic } where there is constant
static } change. continual motion
 continual change
 { where there is no change
 things remain the same
 the rules & customs;
 has no problems;
 is already adjusted;
 CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL CHANGE: THE GENESIS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CHANGE

The Nature of Change. We have noted that it is the very nature of healthy social life to expand and of civilization to grow. But this expansion and growth gives rise to vast social changes, and in dynamic times such as we are living in to-day these vast changes shake the very foundation of our whole social structure. These social changes affect each individual and group in society, and since a large part of the population is unable to change as completely and as rapidly as the times demand, *social maladjustment* results. It is this social maladjustment which gives rise to our major social problems. Hence, if we are to gain an adequate understanding of our present-day social problems, we must study them in the light of the great social changes now taking place.

Primary and Secondary Phases of Change. We cannot achieve progress without social change; but, at the same time, every important social advancement is purchased at the expense of many social maladjustments which become apparent only after a certain degree of progress has been made. Thus, we might say that there are two phases or stages in every important social change, and it is necessary that we recognize these phases in our study of social problems: (1) the *primary phase*, which is directly concerned with the problems of rapid introduction of new inventions and discoveries, the sudden shifts of population as in migration or immigration, or the opening-up and exploitation of new resources and new enterprises; and (2) the *secondary phase*, which has to do with the maladjustments and conditions created by the progress achieved in the primary phase. A few illustrations will make these aspects of social change more clear.

A few generations ago our forefathers slowly worked their way, with lumbering oxen and covered wagons, to the homesteads of the "great Northwest." Gradually they cleared away the virgin forests that covered the hillsides and transformed them into wide-spreading fields of waving grain and grassland. More settlers came. Then came the railroads and still more settlers, until finally, by the close of the nineteenth century,

the last acre of free land was taken. Towns and thriving small cities sprang up in the centers of prosperous agricultural communities. The clearing of the forests, the building of adequate schools and roads, and the development of marketing facilities constituted the major problems of this *primary phase* of the rapidly growing population of the "New West." Recently, however, we have begun to appreciate the fact that a *secondary* change was quietly taking place. The clearing of the forests left the loose, fertile soil of the hillsides exposed, and each year the farmers found the land more washed, harder to till, and less productive. The wear and wash of the land drove the more progressive farmers to seek better land, or to give up farming and seek their economic opportunities in the city. Their places were taken by less ambitious and less successful tillers and toilers. Thus in many instances, the vigorous and thrifty community of farm-owners gradually faded into a drifting, indifferent, and sluggish community of farm tenants. What little fertility was left in the soil was further depleted by the tenant whose chief aim was to get out of the land as much as he could without putting anything back into it. Many of the communities must now depend upon state aid for the leadership and support of many of their economic and social institutions. Many of the states are even now turning to active programs of reforestation, with a hope of replacing or rebuilding the soil which the centuries of virgin forests had placed and held there.

Let us take another example, one which we will consider more in detail in a later chapter—the progress of modern medicine. In the primary phase of the great advances in medical science we had our eye singled to the problems of promoting good health and conquering of disease. We faced, and still face, some serious problems in reaching every element of our population with efficient and effective public health education and health service. But we are justly proud of the great achievements we have made. We have practically blotted out many diseases; we have literally cut in half the death-rate of a generation ago; we have lengthened the span of life of the average man until it is now almost sixty years; we are now able to save ninety-three out of every 100 babies born until they have passed the critical first year of life; we have added months and years to the productive life of the worker by lessening his days of sickness and adding to his vitality the vigor of good health. This is the *primary phase* of the great change that has come with the advancement of modern medicine. But we are beginning to see that all this vast progress in science is not entirely an unmixed good. There are some baffling *secondary* aspects which have crept quietly into changes taking place. In the first place, in our efforts

to cut down the death-rate, we are saving thousands who are too weak of mind and body to face the complex and exacting demands of modern life. We have set aside Nature's process whereby the fittest survived and the weak and feeble-minded for the most part died young. We are faced, therefore, with an ever-increasing burden of providing care and guidance for these feeble-minded individuals and for those who are otherwise too weak to provide adequately for themselves. Then again, while we rejoice that we are adding so many years to the length of the average life, we are beginning to be dimly aware of the fact that we must make more generous social provisions for the care and treatment of the aged who every year constitute an increasing proportion of the population.

Thus we might multiply our examples to include every sort of the vast multitude of changes taking place in society to-day, but what we have just pointed out is no doubt sufficient to make clear the necessity of considering the two phases which characterize all social changes. We may now turn our attention to a brief survey of the major fields of social change and their social significance.

INDUSTRIAL CHANGES

The Handicrafts. The changes which have furnished most of the causes for social maladjustment are those which have come about in our industrial system. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century, industry was still in the handicraft stage. The simple machinery and tools used in manufacturing were driven by hand-power and owned and managed by the craftsmen who used them. Every master craftsman was a capitalist to the extent that he owned his own tools, contracted for and purchased his own raw materials, controlled his own place of employment, set his own pace of work, and controlled the finished product, which he generally sold directly to a patron whom he knew personally. Working along with the master craftsmen were perhaps a few journeymen and a few apprentices; but they owned and used their own tools and shared with the master craftsmen the same conditions of employment and the same living conditions. There was not much ground for industrial disputes in those days; the relation of the employer to the employee was most intimate and personal. Likewise, the relation between the producer and the consumer was direct and personal, and there was little cause for any public concern about protecting the interests of the consumer. In this stage, *labor* was the dominant factor in production; labor controlled the raw materials, the conditions of employment, the speed of work, and the quality and price of the finished product.

The Beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Starting with the last third of the eighteenth century, mechanical inventions began to work great changes in the industrial system. Steam-power, beginning with the textile industry (1785), took possession of the machines and tools and organized them into our factory system.¹ Generally this last quarter of the eighteenth century is referred to as the period of the Industrial Revolution. But we can hardly say that this period was any more than the beginning; the revolutionary changes are still going on with even greater intensity. In other words, we are now in the midst of the Industrial Revolution. The early stage was characterized by the substitution of the machine for the hand tool, while the present stage takes the form of the replacement of the simpler machines by the more improved, more complex and elaborate, and more costly machines.²

When we examine carefully this great change in our industrial life, we notice that it is in fact a twofold revolution—a revolution of the processes and methods of production, on the one side, and a revolution of the nature of ownership and control, on the other. On the one hand, we witness the rapid growth and extension of the *factory system*, and on the other hand, we see the transfer of ownership and control to the *corporation* form of business organization. These two gigantic developments have given us most of our great material progress, but they have, at the same time, given rise to our most menacing social problems.

The Factory System. One of the most outstanding features of the factory system is the relation it bears to the worker. It has practically eliminated craftsmanship, and reduced the worker to a mere manipulator and feeder of machines. "The worker of to-day does not make things; he makes only parts of things."³ He no longer has the stimulus and satisfaction that came to the worker of a century ago, of placing the stamp of his personality on the product of his own hands. He is a mere cog in the wheels, "all his claims being liquidated in the wage he receives for his labor."⁴ When he becomes dissatisfied with this, it matters little, since his place might easily be filled by the employment of women and children.

Another feature of the factory system, which further complicates the problems arising out of the minute division of labor and the destruction of craftsmanship, is the amazing increase in the amount of capital em-

¹ Ely, R. T., *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*, New York, 1913, Ch. II.

² Ross, E. A., "The Case for Industrial Dualism," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXXVIII, May, 1924.

³ Fitch, John A., *The Causes of Industrial Unrest*, New York, 1924, Ch. XIX.

⁴ Ross, *loc. cit.*, p. 385.

ployed per average worker.⁵ We have noted that before the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, labor was the dominant factor in production. The growth of the factory system has placed *capital* in power and control; the owner of the industry holds the power to contract for and control the raw materials, the places of employment, the quality and quantity of production, and the finished product. The question is no longer: What is the speed of the worker? But, instead, it is asked: How fast will the machine work? How much can the machine turn out in a day? The question is not: How long will the worker last? but, instead: How long will the machine last? Is it any wonder, then, that society must concern itself, to an ever-increasing extent, with the problems of protecting the welfare of labor? Is it any wonder that labor is restless and ever struggling to gain some vantage point of power where it can wield a more certain control over the means of livelihood?

Growth of Corporation Control. But hardly less problematic is this other side of the industrial change—the growth of *corporation* control and management. We noted that during the handicraft period, the relation of industry to the employee and to the consumer was direct and personal. But with the growth of corporation control, this personal relationship disappears. Under corporation management the employee is a mere number, much the same as a machine, and the consumer is merely so much impersonal “active demand.” The stockholder of the corporation is not interested in, nor concerned about, the conditions under which production is carried on, or the welfare of the worker.⁶ Neither is the stockholder concerned about the welfare of the consumer. The only interests which the stockholder has in the industry are (1) the security and safety of his investments, and (2) the dividends which the industry or business produces. He is impelled *solely by the profits motive*.⁷ Only to the extent that we are able to put a soul in profits are we able to bestir the stockholders to a consideration of the social consequences of the corporation’s conduct.

And yet much must be said to the credit of the industrial and business

⁵ “In the manufacture of agricultural implements the capital for each worker has risen from \$495 in 1850 to \$6764 in 1920; boots and shoes, from \$122 to \$2902; carpeting, from \$623 to \$5198; carriages and wagons, from \$242 in 1840 to \$4338 in 1920; cotton goods, in the same period, from \$708 to \$1979; woolen goods, from \$738 to \$4987; paper, from \$1004 to \$7962; tanning and leather goods, from \$601 to \$9262; silk goods, from \$356 to \$4123; iron and steel, from \$669 to \$7082. . . . For American manufacturing as a whole the capital per worker has increased from \$328 in 1840 to \$4901 in 1920, that is, about fifteenfold. . . . It is perfectly safe, then, to assume that the invested capital per worker today is at least ten times as great as it was a century ago.” (Ross, *loc. cit.*, pp. 386-387.)

⁶ See *Report of the Industrial Relations Commission* (federal), Washington, 1915. Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1920, pp. 461 ff.

corporation. It has made possible the quick amassing of enormous amounts of capital without which it would hardly have been possible to build our railroads, exploit our vast natural resources, or develop our large-scale industrial and business enterprises. Without these gigantic developments, Americans would be without many of the conveniences and commodities which now constitute such a large part of the high standard of living which is so uniformly characteristic of American life to-day. Large-scale production and business has developed the efficiency and the economy which alone has made it possible to put the fruits of our vast material progress within the reach of all classes in the population.

But these vast economies and efficiency achievements of large-scale industry and big business are gradually destroying the foundation upon which much of our social and economic progress has been based. In most fields, thriving and successful small enterprise is doomed. *Competition*, upon which our national founders depended as a guarantee for equalizing economic opportunity and for securing equality of rights of contract, is gradually fading into thin air. The major lines of manufacturing and business, every year witness a decrease in the number and an increase in the size of establishments.⁸ Every year sees the consolidation of a large number of corporations into huge mergers for the purpose of effecting more far-reaching economy of management and lessening the field of competition.⁹

More and more, the men who in the past generation would have risen to be "captains of industry" are becoming the hired men—the managers—of huge corporations owned and controlled by the "financial interests"—the bankers. Thus the control of industry is gradually shifting from the hands of those who are directly concerned with the processes and operation of industry into the hands of investors—into the hands of those who control the banking interests of the nation.

Social Significance of the Impersonal Relations in Industry. This centralization of the ownership and control of industry and business intensifies their impersonal relations to the worker and to the consumer. But perhaps of even greater social significance is the effect it has upon the *contracting* or *bargaining* power of the worker who must market his labor, of the farmer who must market his produce, and of the consumer whose purchasing power is in the balance. The individual with his guaranteed rights of "liberty of contract" faces the dilemma of bargaining, not on equal

⁸Ely, R. T., *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*, pp. 62-66.

⁹Haney, Lewis H., *Business Organization and Combination*, New York, 1920, Ch. XVI.

terms, but on "take-it-or-leave-it" terms. His only way out of this quandary is not to act as an individual, but to lend his will to the will of a strong organization—to organized labor, coöperative marketing, or consumers' leagues and coöperatives. Only such measures as can successfully threaten the assurance of paying dividends can reach the ears of the financiers whose one aim is to keep the business or industry "on a paying basis"—paying profits. This explains why our time is so rife with organized groups, and so disturbed with group conflict.

RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

The great industrial and social changes which we have just outlined would not have gone far had it not been for the phenomenal developments of facilities for travel and transportation. We have seen how group life has expanded and we have noted that this expansion has been largely due to the vast improvements in the methods and means of transportation and communication; but we need to see these improvements more in detail to appreciate their significance in our study of social problems.

American Hurry and Haste. It was only 150 years ago that the United States began its career as an independent nation. It started with a population of but little more than three million, mostly farmers and villagers scattered along the Atlantic seaboard and the eastern slopes of the Allegheny Mountains. But this little handful of population laid claim to the vast stretch of untamed wilderness beyond the Alleghenies, and they were determined to people it and to create of it a nation that would reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To achieve this great aim they had to *hurry*—they *hurried* pioneers to settle the West—they *hurried* to open up the vast natural resources—they *hurried* to develop their industries—they *hurried* to build cities—and they *hurried* to tie the wide-spreading territory into national unity. Thus it was that America became a *hurrying* and *rushing* nation, a quick-moving nation, a nation interested in doing big things in a big way. This hurry and rush became a habit fixed in American culture, and even to-day there is perhaps no characteristic of the American people that is more truly typical of our everyday living. To be sure, "haste makes waste," and not a few of our most baffling social problems must be attributed to our haste in getting things done.

Development of a National Transportation System. To achieve this hasty development, our greatest need was for population—population to settle and hold the vast new territory, to develop our vast natural resources, and to build our industries. There was not enough man-power. Hence we turned to inventing and building of machines which would do the work

of hundreds of workers. But success of machine industry depends upon ample transportation facilities. So we hurried to build the only transportation facilities then known to us—highways, canals, and river transports. The federal government, the states, and the cities all rushed these developments, and by the end of the first third of the nineteenth century, these improvements extended well into the Middle West. Then came the invention of the locomotive and the possibilities of a more adequate means of transportation—the railroads.¹⁰

No other factor played a more important part in the development of our national maturity than the railroads. No other phase of our national history so aptly illustrates that dominant American characteristic of *hurry* and *haste*.

The first railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, was chartered in 1827, but was not completed until 1830. For a time there were many technical handicaps that hampered rapid progress, but by the outbreak of the Civil War these handicaps had been largely overcome and 30,626 miles of railroad were in operation. The following table shows the rapidity with which railroad building proceeded:

TABLE I

TOTAL MILEAGE OF OPERATING RAILWAY IN THE UNITED STATES FOR EACH CENSUS YEAR BEGINNING WITH 1830 *

<i>Census year</i>	<i>Miles of operating railway</i>
1830	23
1840	2,818
1850	9,021
1860	30,626
1870	52,922
1880	93,267
1890	167,191
1900	198,964
1910	249,992
1920	253,152

* Exclusive of mileage in Alaska and Hawaii.

To this we must add 43,934 miles of operating interurban electric railway (exclusive of city street-railways). Thus we have a total of over 297,000 miles of operating railway in the United States.¹¹ This is over one-

¹⁰ Jones, Eliot, *Principles of Railway Transportation*, New York, 1924, Ch. III.

¹¹ *Census Abstract*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1920.

third of the total railway mileage of the world, and more than sufficient to encircle the earth ten times at its equator.

In 1789, when George Washington became President, the United States had no transportation system. The old stage-coach took six to seven days to go from New York to Boston, a distance of 232 miles. Eighty years later the first transcontinental railroad was completed. To-day the whole nation is covered with a network of steel rails. Many of the old settlers are still alive who went West in covered wagons at a speed of from five to fifteen miles a day. To-day one may cross the continent—a distance of over 3,000 miles—in luxurious comfort in less than three days, and at a cost that is well within the means of the majority of the population. This ease and convenience of travel has broken down the *old sectionalism* and has created national unity. But of even greater social significance is the rapid movement of freight, express, and the mail. This has led to the development of a *new sectionalism*, based on specialization, and has made each section of the nation interdependent upon all other sections. It has destroyed the old self-sufficing community and made possible the building and feeding of our large industrial cities. Thus many things which we daily use, consume, and enjoy were perhaps only a few days before packed and shipped from the most remote state in the Union.

Development of Ocean Transportation. The same sort of phenomenal progress has been made in ocean travel. The first transatlantic steamship, the "Savannah," crossed the Atlantic, from New York to Liverpool, in 1819, in the record-breaking time of twenty-six days. In 1908 the "Lusitania" crossed, from New York to Queenstown, in four days and fifteen hours; in 1910 the "Mauretania" made the same trip in four days, ten hours, and forty-one minutes. In 1924 the United States was second only to Great Britain in ocean transportation facilities, the United States having 5,128 merchant ships with a total capacity of 15,956,967 tons, and Great Britain having 8,055 merchant ships with a total capacity of 19,105,838 tons.¹² Thus we have brought the world to our very door, and have made ocean travel so cheap and comfortable that even the poorest classes find it possible to immigrate to our shores. We have tapped the high-pressure mains of the overcrowded nations, and, as we shall see in a later chapter, our country stands in grave danger of being flooded with immigrants from the lowest economic levels of these overcrowded nations, thus threatening the high standard of living which we now enjoy.

The Automobile. Even more phenomenal than the building of the railroads and the development of ocean travel has been the rapid development

¹² Report, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, 1924.

of the automobile. Here again we notice the prevalence of that dominant American characteristic of hurry and haste. As early as 1875 we were beginning to look for some means of travel more rapid than the horse.¹³ In 1879 a "steam wagon" was invented which made the trip from Oshkosh to Madison, a distance of about 100 miles, in three days, "working time," and was awarded the prize provided by the state legislature. But it was not until 1895 that motor transportation gave promise of success. In that year four automobiles were made in the United States.¹⁴ The Census of 1900 showed that there were fewer than 4,000 motor vehicles in the United States. Then began the large-scale production which has made this a "motor age." In 1923 there were 18,023,584 motor vehicles in use in the world, and of this number 15,092,177 were in use in the United States—fifteen out of every eighteen automobiles were in the hands of the American population! On June 30, 1926, there were over nineteen million motor vehicles registered by the people of the United States—an average of one motor vehicle for every six inhabitants!¹⁵ The American people is literally motorized.

Hendrik Van Loon aptly expressed this social situation in one of his cartoons. He pictures two old men on Mars, looking down upon the hurrying multitude of cars on the earth.

"What are all those people on Earth doing?" asks one of the old men.

"Going," is the brief reply of the other.

"Going where?" continues the questioner.

"Nowhere,—just going!"

¹³In 1875 the Wisconsin Legislature passed the following law (*Wisconsin Statutes*, 1875, Ch. 134):

"There is hereby appropriated the sum of \$10,000 . . . to be paid to any citizen of Wisconsin who shall invent, and after five years' continued trial and use, shall produce a machine propelled by steam or other motive agent, which shall be a cheap and practical substitute for the horse and other animals on the highway and farm; provided that said appropriation shall not be levied or made until a successful award is made. . . .

"Any machine or locomotive entering the list to compete for the prize or bounty, shall perform a journey of at least 200 miles, on a common road or roads, in a continuous line North and South in this state, and propelled by its own internal power, at the average rate of at least five miles per hour, working time.

"The said locomotive must be of such construction and width as to conform with or run in the ordinary track of the common wagon or buggy, now in use, and be able to run backward or turn out of the road to accommodate other vehicles in passing and be able to ascend or descend a grade of at least 200 feet to the mile."

¹⁴Backer, B. G., *Wisconsin Metal-Working Industries* (bulletin), Wisconsin Department of Agriculture, Madison, 1924.

¹⁵In the report of the Bureau of Public Roads, United States Department of Agriculture, published in October, 1926, 19,851,255 motor vehicles were reported registered.

Highway Improvement. Along with the development of the automobile has come the rapid building of good roads, most of which have been built in the last ten years. Of the three million miles of highway in the United States, 525,000 miles have been surfaced.¹⁰ Every year the combined appropriation by counties, states, and federal government for the building of more good roads amounts to more than a half-billion dollars. From East to West, and from North to South, over most of the United States, we may now traverse in half an hour the distance which our forefathers considered a good day's journey with the horse and buggy.

Conquest of the Air. And we are still struggling to perfect a more rapid means of travel than train, automobile, or steamship. The aëroplane is now in about the same stage of development that the locomotive was in 1840, or that the automobile was in 1904. Enough progress has been made to give assurance of its future commercial value, but we are still experimenting and inventing essential improvements. In May, 1924, the trip from coast to coast was made with the sun—covering a distance of 3,000 miles in but little more than twenty-one hours. The Post-Office Department is making extensive use of air transportation in carrying mail. The Army and Navy consider the aëroplane an indispensable instrument of warfare, and the part it played in the World War clearly indicates its future value. Europe is already making extensive use of the aëroplane in passenger service, and doubtless we shall soon witness air-line passenger service in America. However, Americans will not be satisfied until it is possible for the individual to use the aëroplane as he now uses the automobile. Such a development will extend his daily contacts to distances four or five times greater than he is now able to make over the best roads.

RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Hardly less important than the great developments of travel and transportation have been the great improvements in methods of communication. These two great products of science and invention have paralleled one another—the development of telegraphy paralleled that of the railroads and steamship; the telephone preceded the automobile but a few years; and the development of the radio has practically paralleled the development of the aëroplane, though its popularity and installation has been more universal.

The Telegraph and Cable. The first telegraph line in the United States

¹⁰ *Report*, Bureau of Public Roads, Washington, March, 1927. This figure includes almost 70,000 miles of the 182,134 miles in the interstate federal highway system which is being improved with aid from the federal government.

was put into operation in 1840, connecting Washington with Baltimore—a distance of forty miles. In 1922 the Bureau of the Census reported 1,853,250 miles of telegraph wire, and 76,711 nautical miles of ocean cable, connecting every community of the whole country with the rest of the world. Thus it is that events and transactions over the whole world are so quickly heralded over the whole country. Hence the people of the nation may read the same news and apply their minds to the same issues, all at the same time.

The Telephone. While the telegraph was of great social significance, it was not the community builder that the telephone was destined to become. In 1920 there were 11,795,747 telephones in use in the United States, or almost one telephone for every two families.¹⁷ Of this number, 2,508,002 were in farm homes; 38.9 per cent of all the farms in the United States were supplied with telephones.¹⁸ To be sure, the majority of the farm telephones were on "party lines," but this makes it all the more interesting for the women folks for whom farm life is often lonely and drab. In 1926 the number of telephones increased to over sixteen million, and installation of new lines was moving forward faster than ever before.¹⁹ Thus is our population knitted together into closer social and economic life, and months and years added to our productive life by the time and the steps saved by the increasing use of the telephone.

The Radio. But still another great advancement in communication is ripening in the world of science and invention—the radio. From 1894, when Marconi began his experiments with "wireless," to 1903, when the first wireless message was successfully flashed across the Atlantic, the development of radio was slow. In 1904 steamships began to be equipped with "wireless," and press despatchers began to use this means of flashing news over the world. In 1915 transoceanic telephony was achieved. The engineers of the Bell Telephone Company telephoned to Paris, France, and to Honolulu. During the World War the value of the radio was thoroughly established, and following the close of the War, the radio art and industry in the United States began its phenomenal development.²⁰

In 1924, there were 2,723 American ships equipped with wireless. The Weather Bureau now issues warnings of storms and dangers to shipping.

¹⁷ The Census of 1920 reported 24,351,676 families and 20,697,204 dwellings in the United States.

¹⁸ *Year Book*, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1921, p. 788.

¹⁹ *Statistical Report*, American Telephone and Telegraph Co., New York City, January 1, 1926. There were 16,935,918 telephones in use in 1926, using 34,523,842 miles of wire.

²⁰ *Radio Service Bulletin*, No. 105, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, December 31, 1925, pp. 7-15.

This has been the means of saving thousands of lives, and millions of dollars to American shippers.

At present there are 815 broadcasting stations in the United States, and eighty-two Canadian stations, the audiences of many of which extend to a radius of 1,000 or even 1,500 miles. When linked together they may send a message to the entire continent.²¹

It is conservatively estimated that two-thirds of American families are provided with radio sets. In 1925 it was estimated that 553,000 farmers' homes were equipped with them. "Farmers have discovered that they need good long-distance sets to get weather and market reports and entertainment they demand. Twenty-four agricultural colleges maintain radio broadcasting stations. The colleges are becoming enthusiastic users of radio. They coöperate with the Department of Agriculture in broadcasting its weather, crop, and market reports. . . . Many farmers have more than saved the price of their radio sets by profit gained by use of the market information issued by the Department for broadcasting."²²

Even photographs are now successfully transmitted by radio, so that we are not only able to get directly the news, weather and market reports, concerts, lectures, and political speeches, but obtain quickly through the press a detailed picture of events happening over the world.

While the development of the radio is still in its beginning, it is already of profound social significance. It has not only proven of great value to marine travel and transportation, and in warfare, but has demonstrated an equally great social and economic value the nation over. It has created a broader and keener appreciation of science among old and young. It has furnished, at least temporarily, a check to the dangerously rapid tendencies separating the interests in family life.²³ It has furnished the country home and the shut-in with much needed entertainment and educational stimuli.

News and the Press. Augmenting all this vast development in communication facilities is a similar development of the press. Americans, especially, are great readers. There are over 2,000 daily papers published in the United States, along with more than 13,000 weeklies and 5,000 monthly and other periodicals.²⁴ For those who attend the "movies" in-

²¹ *Radio Service Bulletin*, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, December 31, 1926.

²² *Year Book*, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1925, p. 47.

²³ Some students, however, seem to think that the radio is of no more social value than the phonograph: Bewick, M. D., "Limited Social Effect of Radio Broadcasting," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1927.

²⁴ The number of newspapers and periodicals and their circulation fluctuate greatly from month to month. The N. W. Ayer & Son's *American Newspaper*

stead of reading the evening paper, there are 15,840 motion-picture theaters to aid in presenting the happenings throughout the world. Never in any other age did a whole nation—and to a large extent, a whole world—have an opportunity to see, to read, and to think about the same things at the same time!

But these newspapers and periodicals do not merely carry news, stories, and education—their chief object is to carry advertising. We are told in a thousand different ways how we should spend our incomes—what to eat, what to wear, what cars to ride in, where to spend vacations. Our most intimate and personal wants are exposed, and we are told in a most intimate and personal way how to supply them. Thus it is that we rush to spend our incomes and to keep perpetual 40% mortgages on our next year's incomes through the "easy credit terms" urged upon us.

Books, Libraries, Bureaus, and University Extensions. Since the boyhood days of Abraham Lincoln there has been a phenomenal development of educational opportunity—opportunities for home education as well as for formal education in our schools and colleges. Over 1,500,000 American children are in our grade and high schools, and there are 300,000 students in our American colleges and universities.²⁵

But the opportunities for self-education, for youth and for adult, constitute one of the greatest advances in our educational progress. In the first place, there never was a time when information on almost every sort of subject was so readily within the reach of the individual, no matter where he happens to be located. There never was a time when books were published in such quantities and on such a wide range of subjects and as cheaply as they are being published to-day. If the classification of the books published can be taken as an index of the interests of the reading public—and I think that it can—it is evident that Americans are building a broad foundation for the cultural growth of the future, as may be seen from Table 2.

But books are not the only sources of information on the vast range of subjects with which Americans are concerning themselves. There are thousands of pamphlets, reports, and monographs being published and distributed annually by bureaus and departments of government and by

Annual Directory, Philadelphia, 1925, indicates 2,310 daily papers, 13,267 weeklies, 3,613 monthlies, and 2,341 other periodicals published in 1924. The circulation of the big-city morning papers, 1924, averaged 12,629,953 per issue; and that of the evening papers, 21,111,789 per issue.

²⁵ The Census of 1920 reported 15,578,914 children in schools, and 298,773 students in the 672 colleges, universities, and normal schools of the United States.

TABLE 2

NEW BOOKS PROVIDED THE READING PUBLIC OF AMERICA IN 1925 *

<i>Classification by subjects</i>	<i>Books published in 1925, including foreign importations</i>		
	<i>American authors</i>	<i>Foreign authors</i>	<i>Total</i>
Philosophy	200	76	276
Religion	706	179	885
Sociology	505	92	597
Law	181	6	187
Education	239	9	248
Philology	161	99	260
Science	581	89	670
Technology	371	110	481
Medicine and health	269	57	326
Agriculture	155	13	168
Domestic economy	48	5	53
Business	265	21	286
Fine arts	110	65	175
Music	58	31	89
Games and sports	137	13	150
General Literature	277	142	419
Poetry and Drama	638	162	800
Fiction	1,005	326	1,331
Juveniles	444	113	557
History	332	137	469
Geography	274	164	438
Biography	325	236	561
Miscellaneous	47	11	58
<i>Total</i>	7,318	2,226	9,484

* Compiled from *Publishers' Weekly*.

private agencies. No doubt these lesser publications play as important a part in continuous home education as do the books.²⁶

Furthermore, it is no longer necessary for the individual to build for himself a large and expensive home library in order to secure these educational opportunities. On every hand are the large public libraries and library

²⁶ Especially notable are the bulletins of the universities and colleges, the federal Children's Bureau, federal Woman's Bureau, federal and state labor and industrial departments, departments of agriculture, federal and state health services, federal and state commercial and marketing departments, and the departments of public instruction.

commissions, ready to serve his needs through traveling library facilities. Further augmenting and systematizing the use of all these sources of information are the university extension divisions which are providing individuals and communities everywhere with counsel and advice, organized reading courses, correspondence courses, guided club studies, lectures, educational films, demonstrations, and many other educational services.

While it must be admitted that all these vast improvements in education and communication are not fully appreciated and used by the entire population, they are nevertheless reaching those whose influence and leadership are directing and shaping the social and economic life of the nation; and every year the number who do appreciate and make use of these opportunities is increasing—and increasing at a rate far in excess of the rate of increase of population.

Social Significance of the Developments in Transportation and Communication. Perhaps the most outstanding social significance of these wonderful developments in transportation and communication is to be seen in the effect they have had on community life. They have largely destroyed the old community bounds. Until these vast developments set in, the community was, for the most part, limited to the distance which could comfortably be covered by the horse and buggy in a half-day—a distance of fifteen to twenty miles, depending upon the condition of the roads. The building of the railroads began a loosening of the bounds of the horse-and-buggy community; but it was the automobile that especially hastened community expansion. With the automobile, a day's pleasure or business trip may extend to 100 or 150 miles from home. The telephone and the automobile have, therefore, widened the social and economic contacts to 100 times those that were possible in the horse-and-buggy days. With the aeroplane, the radius of social and economic contacts may easily extend to 400 or 500 miles, and the radio enables us to gather in the concerts and lectures from a radius of 1,000 to 1,500 miles.

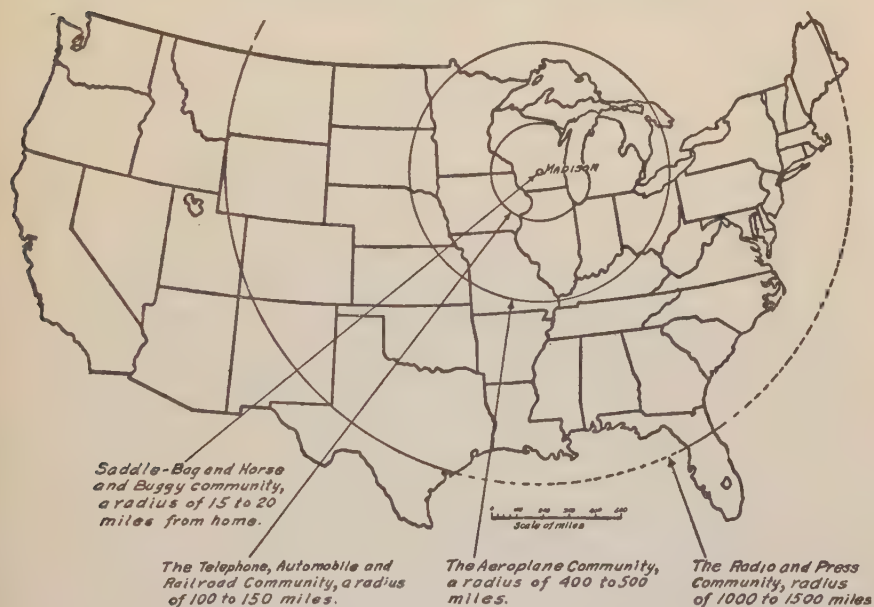
While these changes have given the individual a broader social, economic, and intellectual horizon, and raised the standard of living, the machinery and channels for conduct and control of group life have not kept pace. Thus the standards of the family, the church, public opinion, government, and recreation remain largely where they were a generation ago.

The effect of these changes on the home life of the nation is a deep one. While life seems to be enriched by being able to see and enjoy more of the world's out-of-doors, the problem now is one of keeping the family together—of keeping the interests of its members united. Conditions created

by these changes of the last quarter-century are largely responsible for the instability of the modern home. The ceremonies, regulations, and ideals that served to guide and control our grandfathers are far from adequate for this motor age. New means of regulation and control must be shaped to

FIGURE 3

HOW IMPROVED MEANS OF TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION IS WIDENING THE RANGE OF CONTACTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THEREBY WEAKENING THE MEANS OF LOCAL CONTROL
Travel Distance based on a Day's Pleasure or Business Trip



fit the changed conditions. But just what shall these regulations be, and from whence are they to come?

Our grandfathers still talk about the old singing schools and the other home-made amusements that characterized their social life when they were young, but the automobile and the good roads have done away with all these. We have discarded home-made fun, while we pack the theaters and athletic fields to witness professional artists and entertainers. In the course of only a few years, social life has almost wholly surrendered to commercialized amusements: we have largely ceased to be producers, and have become a nation of onlookers and listeners. To be sure, many efforts are now being put forth to combat this tendency and to revive, or rather to

reorganize, our communities, so that play may again be the spontaneous expression of community life. There is a growing recognition that the present tendency is stunting normal life and giving rise to social unrest and social degeneracy.

These great changes are rapidly converting America into an *urbanized* nation. The telephone, the automobile, the bus, and rapid transit have spread our cities to proportions hitherto impossible; but more than this, they are bringing to the rural communities the advantages and the problems of suburban life. Thus *urbanization* is taking possession of the whole population—and by urbanization we do not mean merely the shift of the population to the city; it is a social philosophy—"do as you would do in a big city, where you are not known"—it is the rule of the impersonal, under which public opinion has little power to regulate or control personal conduct.

Our government and laws are not framed to cope with such situations. Our local, state, and federal governments were designed to meet the problems of earlier days, when folks rode horseback over unimproved roads. Now most of the problems of government are motorized. Protection of persons and property becomes increasingly difficult under the handicap of antiquated governmental machinery. The open country can no longer be regarded as "too safe to police." If the vice, gambling, and disorderly conduct of the cities and towns are suppressed, we find that we have merely transplanted them into the country, to road-houses, "half-way houses," and "inns." If one state undertakes to regulate marriage and divorce, those who would be inconvenienced by such regulations merely motor across the line into another state where such regulations do not exist. In other words, our agencies for regulation and control have not kept pace with the rapid expansion of community life. But how can these adjustments be made? How can these agencies be made to keep pace with the rapid changes produced by the rapid development of the means of transportation and communication?

The church and the religious life of the community has also felt the impact of these vast changes in communication and travel. Most of the religious organizations and churches were designed to serve the old type of community. The little country churches nestled among the pines and the tombstones, as well as many of the small city "missions," offer little attraction to the young folks of to-day. There are hundreds of counter-attractions which compete for the interests which once were given unreservedly to the church. Those who still cling to habits of worship and religious devotion motor past the little church to attend the more spec-

tacular service in the more imposing edifice. Somehow religion, too, must be motorized, if it is to serve the religious needs of to-day. But how is this to be brought about?

In matters of community health and education there has been more progress than in most of the other social institutions. Especially since the World War, education and health have moved forward with great strides—and for the most part they have moved forward together. The “little old red school-house” so dear to American traditions is, in most communities, disappearing. Good roads and the automobile have combined to create the consolidated rural schools or to carry the child to the town or city schools. To be sure, the curriculum is still far from adjusted to modern needs, but even here there is a growing recognition that changes must be met. The school nurse, medical examination of school children, vaccination, school clinics, dental clinics, special classes for backward children, visiting teachers for crippled children and shut-ins—all these projects indicate that the next generation will start life’s work with stronger bodies and a better knowledge of the laws of health than did the children of the past. But with all this, the movement has merely begun and there is a long way yet to go before these advantages are the heritage of the entire child population.

But this increased speed of travel is costing many lives. It is estimated that in 1925 there were 30,400 people killed and 868,000 injured in automobile accidents in the world, and that over 80 per cent of these injuries occurred in the United States. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, there were 22,500 people killed in automobile accidents in the United States, and almost a half-million injured; and of this number killed and injured 32 per cent were children under fifteen years of age.²⁷ Of this number 1,784 were killed, and 5,916 injured, at grade crossings. How much of this unprecedented waste of human life is but the normal price which we must pay for progress, and how much of it is the unnecessary price paid for speed craze and carelessness?

Thus we see that the vast social and economic changes of the last century and a half have placed a most severe strain upon our whole social structure. By virtue of the fact that our social institutions are slow to change, and because of the difficulty confronting such a large part of the population in its efforts to keep pace with the demands of the times, there appear vast and baffling maladjustments. It is with these maladjustments that our study of social problems is concerned.

²⁷ *Report of the National Safety Council, Chicago, 1926.*

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

We have noticed that social problems are rooted in the social maladjustments caused by social change. But we need to examine these social maladjustments more carefully in order to get an accurate understanding of their nature.

There are hundreds of social problems, big and little. Some are obvious and clamor for remedial measures, and scores of social-work agencies, public and private, have been organized to remedy this one or that of these obvious social ills. Other problems are less obvious, and creep into our community and national life and sap our group vitality without being comprehended. Some problems quickly respond to the proper treatment. Others require a program of treatment extending over a generation or more.

Thus we have the problems of *poverty* and *dependency*, *crime* and *delinquency*, *sickness* and *physical handicap*, *unemployment* and *discontent*, *ignorance* and *inefficiency*, *dissipation* and *wanton waste*, and scores of other social ills which blight and mar the prosperity and progress of society.

Volumes have been written on the "diagnosis" and treatment of these social problems, individually. It is now possible to compile an encyclopedia of social reform, similar to the encyclopedia of medicine. Just as medicine has developed its specialized branches of science and service, just so social reform has developed its specialized branches of scientific research and service—of finding ways and means of adjusting the elements of social life so that all may enjoy a larger measure of the fruits of civilization. But in certain phases of social life it is not easy to determine the ways and means of social adjustment. In some respects science has blazed no definite trail for us. Progress in some phases of life has led to confusion in other phases: thus, progress in industry has changed the whole setting of the family and of the social relationship; progress in communication and travel has rendered our old agencies of social control ineffective and recast the whole outlook of community life.

It is gradually coming to be recognized that most of these social ills cannot be considered singly, but that they are merely branches of larger trunks, manifestations of larger and more basic maladjustments. Leaders of social thought are beginning to realize that effective and lasting adjustments cannot be worked out without taking into account the adjustments demanded by these basic social problems out of which so many of the more obvious problems grow. Hence an understanding of the nature and causes of these basic social problems enables us to understand better the surface

problems and to interpret more accurately the drift of events. It enables us, also, to take a more effective part in the constructive programs of social reform.

It is with these basic social problems that our study is concerned, and throughout it is important to keep in mind that the central problem is that of *adjusting our social life and our social institutions*, so that, as individuals and as communities, we may use and enjoy the largest measure of civilization possible, and promote further progress.

RELATION OF SOCIOLOGY TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Sociology is the science which deals with the phenomena of society, its origin, development, forms, activities, and functions. The central purpose of sociology is concerned, first, with *understanding society*; second, with programs and policies which direct this understanding toward social betterment.²⁸ "Sociology studies man in his social relations, as affecting and as affected by association, together with all the products and processes consequent upon such association."²⁹ It is closely related to all fields of science, and especially to the social sciences—economics, political science, history, philosophy, psychology, eugenics, and education. It is a general social science and is concerned with the broad field of human associations, while these other sciences are concerned only with specialized phases of human relations. Sociology must use and draw generalizations from data bearing upon social life, furnished by the other sciences.

But sociology not only makes use of the generalization, principles, and laws revealed by the other sciences, but extends its methods of investigation and observation into fields untouched by them. It especially investigates the origin, cause, aims, and results of the social phenomena which have developed out of association. Only to a limited extent is sociology able to carry on experimentation. Social life and its products require long periods of time to develop and ripen and, too, it is not possible to place and hold human beings under especially controlled conditions, like animals, for experimental purposes. Consequently, the major experiments of the sociologist are those which relate to the testing-out of policies and programs which groups or communities may be induced to adopt tentatively.

The principles and the laws which the sociologists are thus able to draw from the mass of data they collect through investigation, observation, and a limited amount of experimentation, furnish the tools with which social progress may be intelligently and purposefully made. Thus it is that social

²⁸ Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, Revised, New York, 1923, p. 37.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

problems furnish the sociologists with opportunity for studying human association under changed and changing conditions. At the same time, the principles and laws which they thus discover furnish us with the understanding and the method which are necessary for working out our programs and policies of sound social adjustment.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the *primary* and *secondary* phases of the changes brought about in community life by the introduction of the supervised playground?
2. What have been the changes which have come about in the home during the last 100 years? What social changes have been responsible for them?
3. What proportion of the commodities and conveniences constituting your standard of living have been made possible for you by large-scale industry? How does this affect your sense of social obligation toward workers in other parts of the country?
4. Suppose you were desirous of starting into the business of manufacturing a new electrical motor, what would you have to consider before undertaking the enterprise? What competition would you meet? Where and how would you get the capital? Where and how would you develop your works? What bearing does this problem have upon the present-day social unrest?
5. What effect did the coming of the railroads have upon the river-towns, and the towns built along the canals and turnpikes?
6. Contrast the effect of the railroads and the automobile in the spreading of the city population. What was the shape of the city lay-out created by the railroad? How has the automobile affected the lay-out of the city?

7. How has the automobile affected the American's use of spare time, vacations, and holidays?
8. How have good roads and the automobile affected country life?
9. What solution do you have to offer for adjusting the churches to the changes created by the improvements in travel and communication?
10. Why is it that our law-enforcement officers are unable to cope more effectively with offenders? What solutions would you suggest?
11. What has been the social significance of the widespread use of the radio? How does it differ from the social significance of the phonograph?
12. How may sociology contribute to the solution of social problems?

CHAPTER 3

FACTORS AFFECTING SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Social reform concerns itself with the vast social maladjustments which are the aftermath of the great and rapid changes of our time. But why is the task of social reform so slow? What is it that seems to block the road of a speedy and sound social adjustment to the requirements of the new social order? As individuals we may quickly be brought to a clear recognition of our problems, and may as quickly respond to practical plans for adjustment. But when we are dealing with groups, and especially when we are dealing with a whole nation, our problem of obtaining adjustments is complicated by a number of factors which offer stubborn resistance to speedy reform. *The larger the body, the slower it moves*—this is as true in the social sciences as it is in physics. The social scientist must concern himself with these elements which resist movement and adjustments in society, just as the physicist and engineer concern themselves with the friction and resistances which retard the movements and lessen the power of their huge dynamos and giant machines.

CUSTOM AND TRADITION

One of the most important sets of factors affecting social adjustment is concerned with the *cultural background* of the people who are thus in need of adjustment—their *customs* and *traditions*, or their “folkways” and “mores,” as some writers have called them.¹

Custom is the handing down, from one generation to another, of *ways of doing*. Most of our habits of life, especially habits of consumption, our “standard of living,” our manners and social conduct are governed largely by custom.² The difference between the American-born man and his foreign-born neighbor is largely the difference in these social habits or customs. It is more difficult to teach grown-ups new modes of doing things, because the older they get the more fixed become their old habits, and the more difficult it is to form any new habits which conflict with the old ones. So it is with persuading groups of people to adopt new ways of

¹ Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, New York, 1913.

² Ross, E. A., *Social Psychology*, New York, 1908, p. 196.

doing things: the old ways seem so much more comfortable, though they may be less efficient, slower, or perhaps even injurious.

Tradition is the handing-down from one generation to another of loyalties and of ways of thinking and believing.³ Strangely enough, as we come to think of it, most of our concepts of morality, our concepts of ethics, our standards of value, our standards of propriety, and our "guiding principles" are determined by the past. From our birth to our burial, our lives are to a very large degree circumscribed, controlled, and directed by the forces of tradition.

Thus custom and tradition form the social foundation upon which group life is based, and constitute a firm cement which binds the present to the past. When we come to a careful examination of the beliefs, the ideals, the social standards, the institutions, and the modes of conduct of the various groups which make up the population of the United States, we find that in varying degrees they reflect the cultural contributions from all the great civilizations which have influenced the history of the Western world—the ancient Greeks, the Jews, the Romans, the Nordics, and the more recent culture of South and East Europe.⁴

The older and the more settled and static a community becomes, the more it is bound by the influences of custom and tradition. But even in a relatively new, mobile, and dynamic society, such as characterizes the major portion of the United States, custom and tradition are tremendous forces which, in one way or another, stand in the way of rapid reform. People as groups feel much more comfortable in following the beaten paths; they are vexed and even pained at being forced to accept new views or abandon old habits to take up the newfangled. No initiated social reformer overlooks the fact that social progress requires the unsettling of people, and, at least in a measure, supplanting old traditions and old customs with new ideas and new modes of conduct. Then, too, only the uninitiated social reformer will fail to recognize the danger involved in thus disturbing the old customs and traditions by too radical a program.

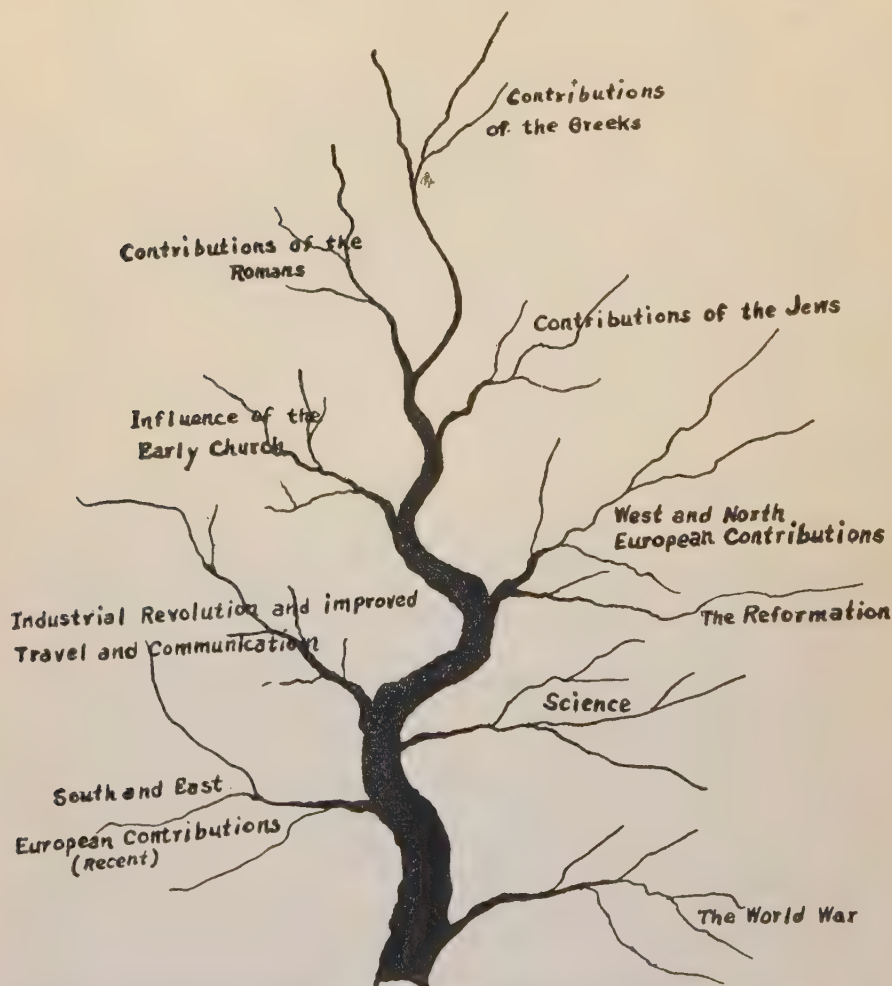
To a very large extent, what we regard as *American culture* is in fact the New England reorganization of the English customs and traditions. In the New England colonies the Puritan concepts of the English culture were reshaped and reorganized to meet the needs of the pioneer and a slightly different form of government. One of the most interesting phases of American history is that of the influence which that little handful of

³ Ross, *Social Psychology*, p. 196.

⁴ Ellwood, Charles, *The Social Problem*, New York, 1919; Ross, E. A., *The Old World in the New*, New York, 1914.

FIGURE 4

SOME OF THE MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STREAM OF PRESENT-DAY CULTURE
—OUR SOCIAL INHERITANCE*



*All of the ideals and elements which go to shape and direct the social mind must be taken into account in facing the problems of social adjustment.

population in New England has had on the development of American institutions and culture. Though millions of immigrants from North Europe have had a large share in the settling and development of the states

west of the Alleghenies, they did not entirely cling to the customs and traditions of their native countries, but instead absorbed and carried the New England pattern, somewhat modified, westward with them, and, with few exceptions, have developed almost a uniform national tradition and culture.

However, with the disappearance of the frontier, and the increase of immigration from South Europe, these newly formed American traditions and customs began to be threatened. The new immigration did not scatter, but settled in compact colonies in the large industrial centers. There they tended to cling to the old customs and traditions of their native countries, instead of adopting, as did the earlier immigration, the pattern that had evolved from the New England traditions.

This tendency to perpetuate customs and traditions which are not in harmony with "American ideals" is the chief basis for our objections to the new immigration. We are not so inclined to accept them as our neighbors or to associate with them unless they are willing to think and act as we do. Consequently we not only close the door to their coming to America, but we turn our attention to the serious job of making of them "respectable" Americans. Just what we mean by *Americanization* has not been satisfactorily defined, but perhaps the central idea of it was expressed by Abraham Lincoln as "government of the people, by the people, for the people." To be sure, this expression has to be interpreted as applying not merely to the state but also to the family, the church, the school, and our industrial and community life.⁵ The South European follows the old tradition of his native land of being the head of the house. His wife and children are regarded as his servants, and he feels it his duty to see that they are employed and that he collects and uses their income as he sees fit. The American, on the other hand, takes the point of view that has been expressed in granting woman suffrage and the passage of child labor laws.

But when we undertake to persuade the foreigner to give up his old traditions and customs, we find that it is a slow and oftentimes discouraging task. We want him to live in a house that is painted and fronted by a grass-plot; we insist that he must have floor coverings, curtains at the windows, table-cloth on the dining-room table, and enough bedrooms to permit a reasonable privacy for the various members of the family. All this seems like gross extravagance to the foreigner, and he hesitates to demand the wage that is necessary to maintain these "luxuries." To be

⁵ Commons, John R., *Races and Immigrants in America*, New York, 1920, p. 213.

sure, these outward expressions are but a few of the changes which we expect the foreigner to make in his habits of living, but they are perhaps the ones which we stress the most.

But it is not only in Americanization that we see custom and tradition retarding the possibilities of rapid adjustment. Many of our own native customs and traditions have to be considered. The rapid progress of science and invention has disturbed not a few of our most time-honored habits and beliefs. For example, a few years ago tuberculosis took a large toll of life each year, and it was discovered that the best way to prevent and cure this "white plague" was to correct our old habit of sleeping with closed windows and in heated or poorly ventilated rooms. Somehow we had developed the idea that night air was to be shut out, that it was poisonous, and it has taken more than a decade to persuade the American people to change their habits and thus avoid the annual toll of deaths caused by tuberculosis. Then, too, medical science has shown us that frequent bathing is essential to good health and vitality. But the habit of bathing was indeed hard to establish. The first bathtub installed in the United States (1842) was exhibited as a curiosity at a party; and in 1850 Virginia placed a tax on all bathtubs on the basis that they were an extravagant luxury. And even sophisticated Boston required that a doctor's permission be given to those who desired to take a bath in the winter-time, as winter bathing was regarded as injurious to the health. Now we regard bathing as one of the essentials to decent living and a bathroom is almost as essential to the American family as the kitchen. But this new custom was not easily nor quickly established.

In matters of education the forces of custom and tradition are perhaps the most serious handicaps to the improvement of our schools. The old traditional concept of education was that it was a means of distinguishing the gentleman and the lady from the common folks. Consequently the curricula of the schools were composed of such subjects as Latin, literature, mathematics, astronomy, and other subjects which had no direct bearing on the means of getting a living. Especially in the last quarter of a century there has arisen a new idea or ideal of education: "the transmission of experience which will make for more complete and efficient living." Vocational schools have sprung up alongside the regular school system, and some inroads have been made in the traditional curriculum permitting of the teaching of applied arts and industries. However, the conflict between the traditional forms of education and the new constitutes one of the main issues in community life.

In religion, likewise, tradition and custom have played and still play

a most important rôle. In many communities the church has been looked upon merely as an institution to be used for Sunday worship and for funerals. Thus religion came to be regarded as a Sunday affair and of more importance for those who were reaching the last milestones of life rather than a seven-day-a-week influence for the benefit and strengthening of the lives of all. We now see a new movement aiming to make the church serve the social needs of the community and to interpret the daily spiritual problems which are exerting an increasing pressure in these days of intensive living. But here, too, we see the old resisting the new with every theological tenet at its disposal.

To our Puritan forefathers recreation, and especially Sunday recreation, was regarded as a sure sign of utter depravity. Many of our states still have their statutes padded with pages of "blue laws" which were designed to keep the "unregenerate sinner" in the paths of "righteousness." Dancing and even the "fiddle" were not allowed in the home, and to play cards was to invite open condemnation of the pious. There are a good many communities which still cling to these ideas of play and recreation. There are many communities where not even the public school, much less the parish house of the church, can be opened for dances or even for social festivities. Obviously the modern programs for community recreation must move with caution and be content with slow progress where people still cling to these old customs and traditions. To ignore or defy these traditions merely leads to community conflict which retards progress instead of advancing it.

Thus we might multiply our illustrations of the influence of custom and tradition as factors affecting adjustment. What we have just said should suffice to make clear the need of considering these forces in our studies of the major social problems. Needless to say, no two communities are quite alike in regard to the play of these forces on the various social problems. Consequently the social reformer must carefully consider each community's "peculiarities" before undertaking his program of social adjustment.

GEOGRAPHIC AND PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

It is easy enough to see how geographic and physical conditions affect the social problem in the different parts of the world. Thus the people living at the foot of a volcano would naturally face problems and develop an outlook different from those of the people who live on the fertile inland plains of a great continent.⁶ People living in the tropics may be ex-

⁶ Mukerjee, R., *Regional Sociology*, New York, 1926.

pected to develop altogether different customs and traditions from people who live in the regions visited by winter, and the problems of the former are very much different from those which harass the people who must provide for shelter and comfort in the lands of snow and ice.⁷

However, even in the United States, geographic and physical conditions are important factors to be taken into account in the making of social adjustments. Thus the people pocketed in the isolated valleys of the Appalachians have been shut off from the main highways and currents of social progress and so have retained the social customs and habits of the first pioneers who crossed the Alleghenies. The development of schools, of ample public health facilities, and of progressive community life is dependent upon the development of improved highways, and means of communication which will eliminate barriers and bring the people into closer contact with the forces of social progress.

Taking the map of the United States and the records of the Weather Bureau, we are able to chart the zones over which there are frequent cyclones and hurricanes. Yet, when we come to observe the communities in these regions, we notice that they build the same sort of farm buildings and live in the same sort of houses as are to be found in the regions less frequently visited by devastating storms. Furthermore, the people in these regions as a rule carry no more insurance against the storms than do the people of the regions where storms are less frequent. Thus every year we read of whole communities being wiped out, schools being destroyed, and thousands of lives being lost. Appeals go up to all of the people of the United States to assist the Red Cross in aiding the sufferers and rebuilding their homes. It would seem, therefore, that due recognition of the geographic conditions would greatly assist in the making of more permanent adjustments in these communities.

Similarly, the thousands who live in the lowlands where, repeatedly, floods sweep away millions of dollars' worth of property and hundreds of lives, still cling to the hope that floods will cease to recur. Not until these peoples are willing to recognize the geographic factors will they be able to make any permanent adjustments which will protect them against future disaster.

A less obvious, but nevertheless significant, influence of climatic conditions is to be observed in the adaptation of the Northern population moving into the Southern states. Invariably we hear the complaint that the Southern climate "makes folks lazy." This may be true to a certain extent, but in a large measure it is due to a failure to recognize the in-

⁷ Smith, J. Russell, *North America*, New York, 1926, Ch. I.

fluence of climate on habits of living. People from the North invariably take with them the habits of diet and housing to which they have become accustomed in the North. A heavy protein and meat diet, which is necessary to furnish the heat and energy for comfortable and efficient living in the North, becomes a drug to the vitality and efficiency of the individual living in a warm climate. Then, too, the cozy cottages with small rooms and low ceilings and with little ventilation provided for above the ceiling may be perfectly beautiful and comfortable in Wisconsin, but stuffy and close when located in Mississippi. Thus, healthy and efficient living in the warm climate requires that we regulate our habits and living conditions in accordance with the demands of the climatic conditions.

Failure to take into account the influence of the geographic condition in social adjustment has been responsible for more waste and delay in the working-out of permanent programs for progress than has generally been recognized.

ECONOMIC FACTORS IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Another set of factors which we must recognize in making social adjustments, whether for individuals or for communities, is the *economic*, i.e., the ability of an individual or of the community to pay for the requirements of health, education, and other social advantages prescribed by the American standard of living.⁸ Even in as wealthy a nation as ours, there are many communities in which the income is too small to provide the families with the necessities for physical comfort, to say nothing of providing the children with good schools or supporting a public health nurse or a director of public playgrounds. This is especially true in many of the old agricultural communities where the soil has been depleted and the old population has moved off, leaving the land to less thrifty and poorer tenant farmers; or in the cut-over lands which were developed during the period of high prices of farm products, but which fail to produce even a meager living since the great decline of prices.

There are other groups and communities in which the annual income would seem to be sufficient to maintain a fairly high standard of living, but in which the forces of commercialization and exploitation absorb so much of that income that the people are unable to provide themselves with those means of progress. Thus many mining communities remain dingy, unhealthy, and backward, not from poverty, but because the wealth is not expended in a way which secures to the working population the

⁸ Nearing, Scott, *Financing a Wage Earner's Family*, New York, 1913.

elements of a high standard of living. For example, the miner may earn seven or eight dollars a day and work on an average of 150 to 200 days in the year, or even more, but he must pay for sharpening his picks, he must pay for his explosives, and he is taxed for weighing the coal which he mines, and when these discounts are taken from his wage, the remainder must be spent for groceries and goods purchased at the "company store" and rent paid to the "company" landlord. The company has no competitor, nor will it tolerate competition. Consequently the laborer is in no position to remedy his unfavorable conditions without moving and changing his occupation, and, as a general rule, he is in debt to the company and unable to find a way of moving his family into a better community. Improvement in the conditions in such communities is largely initiated by organized effort outside of them.

THE BIOLOGICAL FACTORS AFFECTING ADJUSTMENT

Some of the factors which we must take into account in attempting to forward programs of social adjustment are those which relate to the character and temperament of the human stock of which our population is composed.⁹ There are, of course, the normal differences in temperament to be noted among the various racial groups, and even these differences reflect widely different responses to the social requirements of community life. Professor Ross, in analyzing the nature of the crimes which have been committed by prisoners, describes in a most interesting way the difference between the crimes committed by the Swedes, the Jews, the Italians, and the other national groups.¹⁰ Thus, for example, as a general rule, the Swede is in prison for committing a crime over which he brooded for a long time, and seems not to regret his act, while the Italian is in prison generally for a crime which he committed on the spur of the moment while in a rage, and was penitent and sorry for the deed a few minutes after he had committed it. Social settlement workers, in working with foreign groups, have noticed these differences in temperament and have found it necessary to adapt their programs to them.

An interesting difference in temperament is to be noted between the white and the negro. As a general rule the negro works best in a gang, and sings while he works. Some time ago an enterprising superintendent who had engaged several hundred negroes to work on repairing a strip of levee along the Mississippi employed also a jazz band. The chief concern

⁹ Ellwood, Charles, *The Social Problem*, New York, 1919, Ch. III.

¹⁰ Ross, E. A., *The Old World in the New*, New York, 1914.

of the superintendent was to keep the band playing fast rag-time pieces which were familiar to his laborers. In this way the workers worked to the time of the music, wheeling the heavy bags of sand and cement at a pace which was much faster than they would have worked had it not been for the music. To the average American the suggestion of speeding up labor by the use of a band would seem amusing if not absurd, and most certainly we would not attempt to employ this method to speed up a group of Scandinavian workers.

Efficiency engineers have called attention to the great difference in the various races with reference to their ability to withstand the effects of monotony in industry. It appears that the South European stock is able to bear up under a strain of monotonous machine operation much longer than the English or the Irish workers. This fact has led to the development of schedules of relief which take into account difference in temperament. Thus, these natural differences should be considered in practically every aspect of our programs for social adjustment.¹¹

There are to be noted in almost every community and in different sections of the country abnormal conditions which are matters of more serious concern than mere differences of temperament. Perhaps we should divide the abnormal elements into two general groups, both of which will be considered more in detail in later chapters: first, the depleted or drained-out stock which we find in many of the older communities; and, second, the feeble-minded, epileptic, and degenerate stock which is, for the most part, scattered through the population, and constitutes an increasing burden on our charitable and correctional agencies.

In attempting to develop a program of social adjustment in many of the old communities, we find that the response of the people is slow and weak. Undoubtedly there is a definite biological basis for this lethargy and indifference. For years such communities have been continually drained of their vigorous and ambitious elements, and only the easily satisfied remained behind to intermarry and perpetuate their traits.¹²

The chief consideration in regard to the effect of the feeble-minded, epileptic, and degenerate elements of the community upon the problem of social adjustment consists in the increasing attention which this hopeless group requires. Invariably this class of people constitute the most serious menace to health, morals, and educational progress when they are allowed

¹¹ Gowin, E. B., *The Executive and His Control of Men*, New York, 1916, pp. 49, 139.

¹² Ross, E. A., *Social Trend*, New York, 1922, Ch. III.

to roam at large in the community. Consequently, any sound program must necessarily consider the ways and means of safeguarding community life against this "scalawag" element.

EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

As our social life becomes more and more complex, education becomes an increasingly important factor in effecting social adjustment. As we have previously noted, our New England forefathers established traditions which have given to us our public schools; and these traditions had their beginnings as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. But the gigantic task of settling and taming the frontier and the incidental scattering of the population, to say nothing of the continual influx of new immigration, made it difficult for the schools to accomplish the task of education. Even as late as 1870, 20 per cent of the population of the United States of ten years of age and over were unable to read and write. By 1910 this percentage had been reduced to 7.7; and in 1920, only 6 per cent of the population were illiterate.¹³

This 6 per cent of illiteracy, however, is not equally distributed either as to classes in the population, or as to divisions of the United States. Thus, for all classes we find that the Southern and Southwestern states have the highest rates, ranging from 15 to 25 per cent illiterate. In Arizona and New Mexico this was largely due to the Mexican population. In the other Southern states, it was largely due to the illiteracy of the Negro and the isolated whites in the mountainous sections. It is also interesting to note that the native whites of native parentage have a higher percentage of illiteracy than do the native whites of foreign and mixed parentage.¹⁴ The Census explains this difference on the ground that the native whites of native parentage are more scattered throughout the rural and isolated regions where schooling facilities are less available, while the native whites of foreign and mixed parentage constitute a large part of our urban population, for which educational opportunities are abundant. The negro population in 1920 was 22.9 per cent illiterate, and the foreign-born population was 13 per cent illiterate.

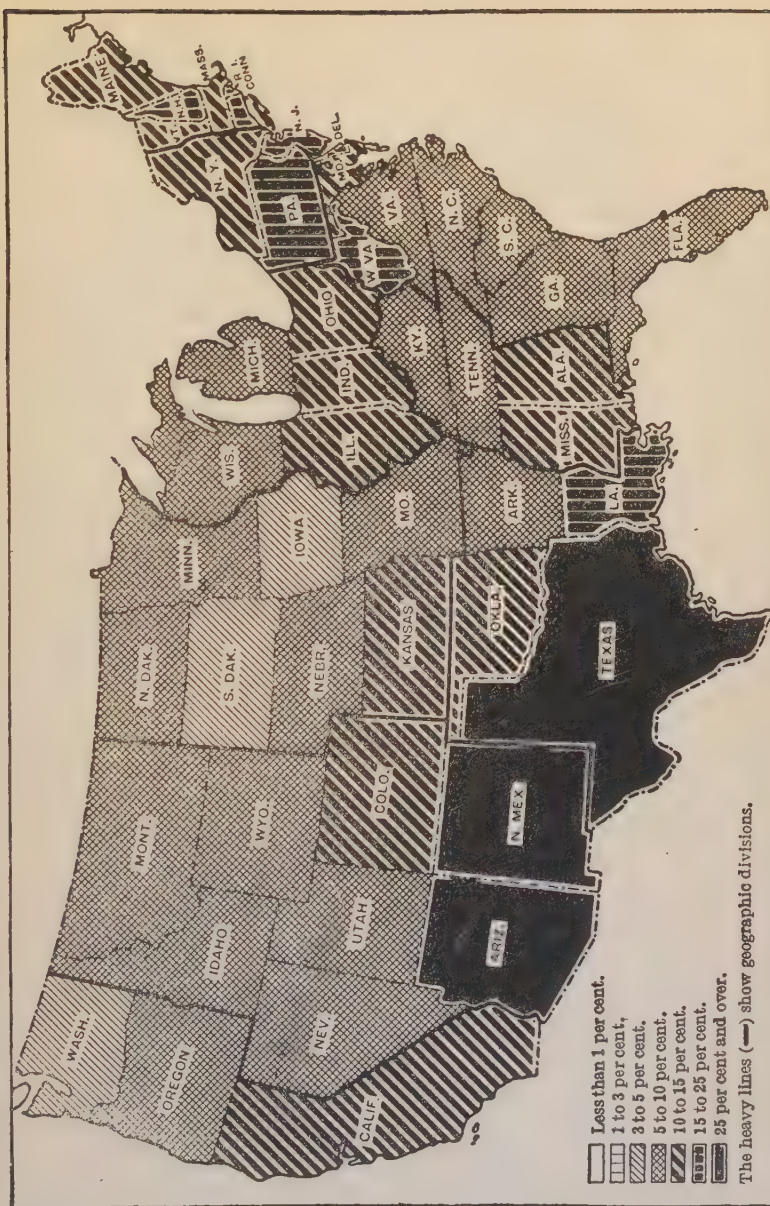
One of the most important phases of the problem of illiteracy is the wide range of difference between the urban population and the rural popu-

¹³ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, (1920)* United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1920, Vol. II, *Population*, p. 1150.

¹⁴ The native whites of native parentage are 2.5 per cent illiterate, while the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage are only .8 per cent illiterate. These census data, however, cannot be taken without question, as it was revealed that 24 per cent of the World War draft recruits were unable to write letters.

FIGURE 5

PER CENT ILLITERATE IN FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920 *



* Census of 1920, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. II, p. 1,148. District of Columbia, 6.1 per cent, not shown separately on the map.

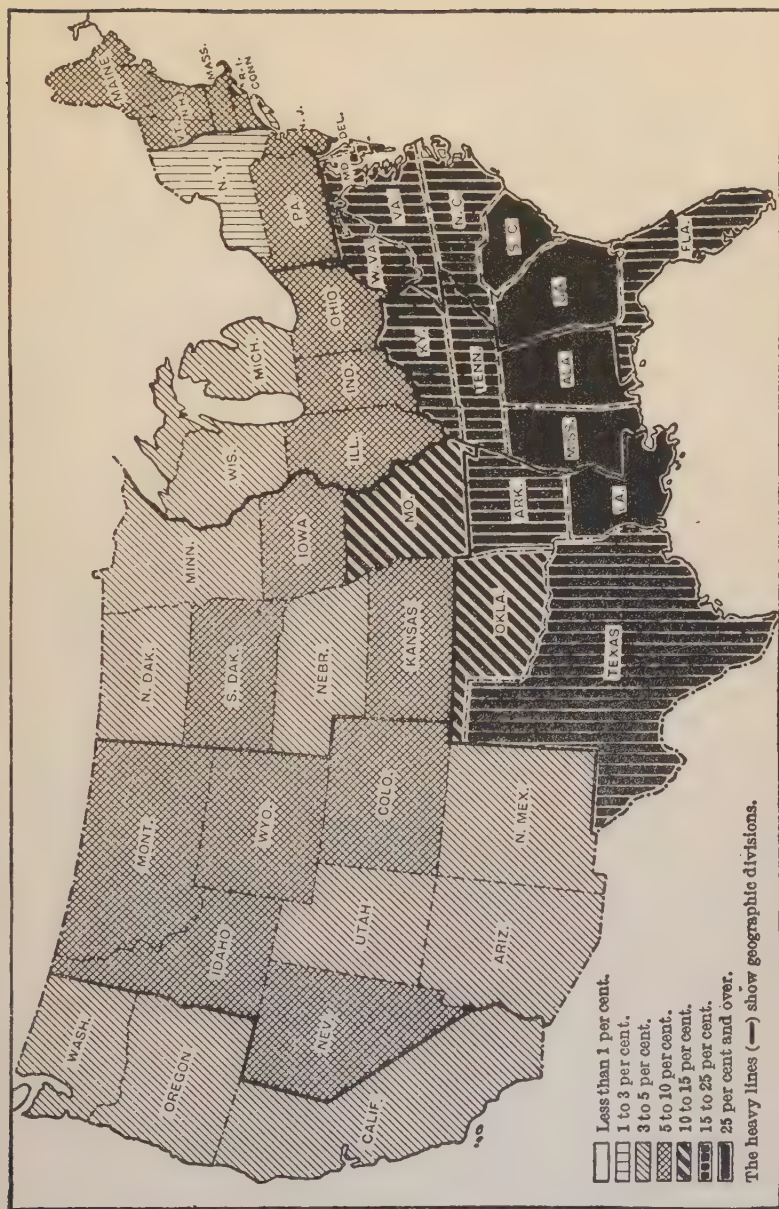
lation. The cities, in spite of their large foreign-born element, showed only 4.4 per cent illiteracy while the agricultural population showed 7.7 per cent. These wide differences constitute only a part of the story of the difference between educational opportunities in the rural communities and those in the city. The "little old red school-house," so dear to the traditions of America, has proven more of a drawback than an aid to the educational progress of many of our rural communities. So long as this time-honored institution controls the sentiments of the school district to the extent that the inhabitants refuse to abandon it and consolidate with other school districts to provide better equipped schools, the rural communities will lag far behind the urban communities in educational progress. However, the next census will undoubtedly show a marked decline in rural illiteracy. The movement toward consolidated rural schools is one which has developed in recognition of the needs of the rural districts, and will do much to wipe out the differences in educational opportunity between rural and urban communities.

It is not merely the *amount* of education that must be considered in social adjustment, but also the *kind* of education and training. Here, too, there must be a difference between the rural and the urban schools if the country boy is to receive the type of education which will lay the foundation for scientific agriculture and for a clear vision of his economic opportunities on the farm. Undoubtedly one of the most significant influences causing the migration of the country boy to the city lies in the nature of his schooling, which tends to make the economic opportunities of industry and business more clear to him than the opportunities in agriculture and farm life. But it is not merely in the matter of economic progress that education plays an important rôle; it is one of the most vital essentials for achieving social progress in every other phase of social life.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS AS FACTORS IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

To an increasing degree Americans are depending upon governmental action as a means of making social adjustments. Frequently social reformers are discouraged and disheartened by the slowness and inefficiency with which the government moves in matters of social reform. However, this situation must be expected and taken into account in every program of social adjustment. The government is not only bound by custom and tradition, but its machinery and policies are largely circumscribed by constitutional and judicial restrictions. For example, with the development of our improved methods of transportation and travel, our state laws relative to marriage and divorce no longer offer the necessary safeguards to stable

FIGURE 6
PER CENT ILLITERATE IN NEGRO POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920 *



* Census of 1920, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. II, p. 1,148. District of Columbia, 8.6 per cent, not shown separately on the map.

family life. Moreover, what one state may attempt to accomplish in regulating marriages and divorces may be defeated by the laxity of other states. Unquestionably the whole problem would be greatly obviated if the federal government was charged with the regulation of marriage and divorce. This, however, is impossible under the present restrictions of the Constitution, which considers such matters as belonging to the states.¹⁵ A similar situation is illustrated in the efforts to obtain a federal child labor law, which was declared unconstitutional and left for the states to work out as they saw fit.

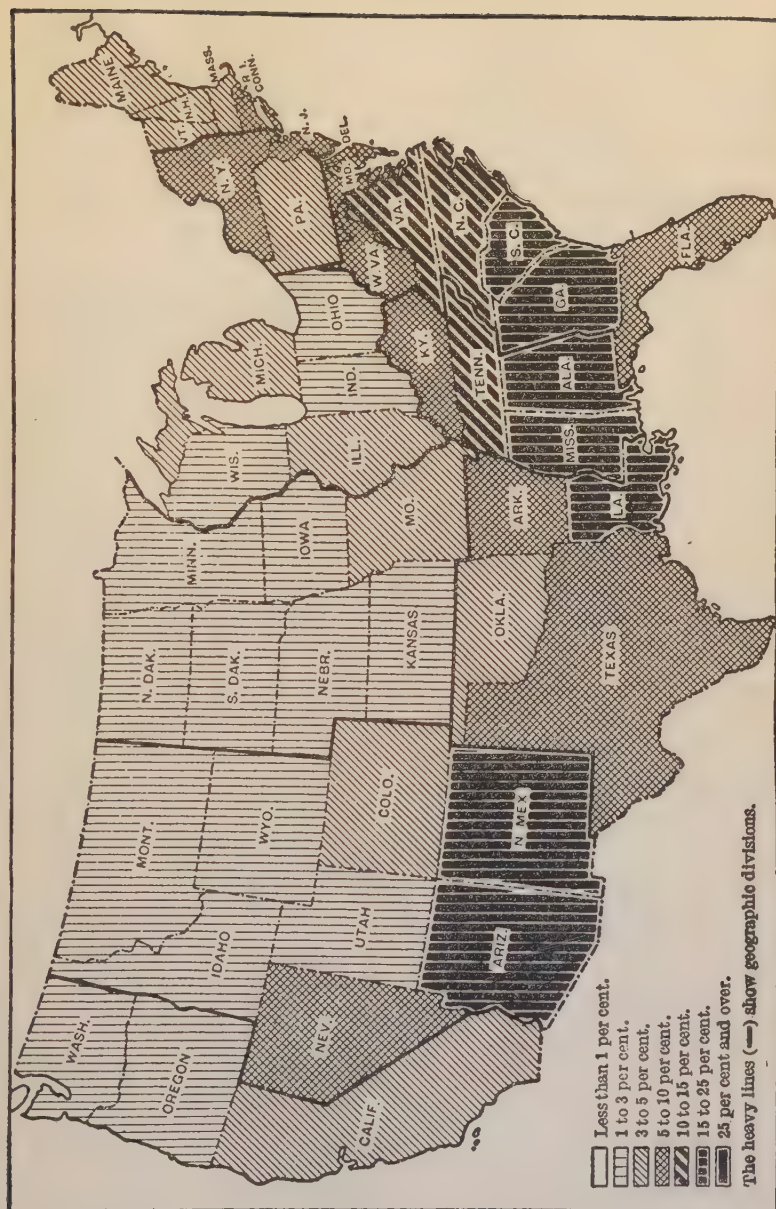
Slow and clumsy though governmental action may seem, it must be increasingly depended upon to secure those regulations which will obtain protection and service for the population in matters of health, education, occupational adjustment, industrial relations, and social welfare, as well as in administration of justice.

But in carrying out these various services, the government infrequently has robbed Peter to pay Paul. Thus the revenues derived from one section or group have often been distributed in a way that has provided disproportionate services. For example, in 1924 the United States paid out \$249,994,777 for Civil War pensions. It is estimated that 98 per cent of this pension fund was expended in the Northern states, while the eleven Southern states, which are not included in the federal pension system, paid approximately one-fifth of the revenue which went into this fund. Consequently approximately \$46,000,000 was drained out of the Southern states and expended to build up the prosperity and to take care of the dependents in the North. In addition to this, the Southern states have paid dearly for their political position as the "solid South." They have helped to build the post-offices and other federal improvements in the towns and cities of the Republican states, without receiving their proportionate share of these improvements. To no small extent this drainage of the South through disproportionate distribution of public revenues has been an important handicap in the development of education and social welfare.

Another phase of this problem of the distribution of public revenues is seen in the conflict between the rural districts and the cities. In a number of states the "farmer legislators" have constituted a stubborn resistance to the increased expenditures of city government. Thus, in Ohio, the rural legislators passed what is known as the Smith One Per Cent Bill, which has held down city expenditures to the point where they are

¹⁵ Goodnow, F. J., *Social Reform and the Constitution*, New York, 1911, p. 196.

FIGURE 7
PER CENT ILLITERATE IN ALL CLASSES OF POPULATION TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920 *



* Census of 1920, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. II, p. 1,147. District of Columbia, 2.8 per cent, not shown separately on the map.

scarcely able to expand and provide the necessary developments of public works.

Perhaps one of the best indices of the importance of the government in matters of social adjustment is to be noted in the way the states spend the taxpayer's dollar in 1925:¹⁶

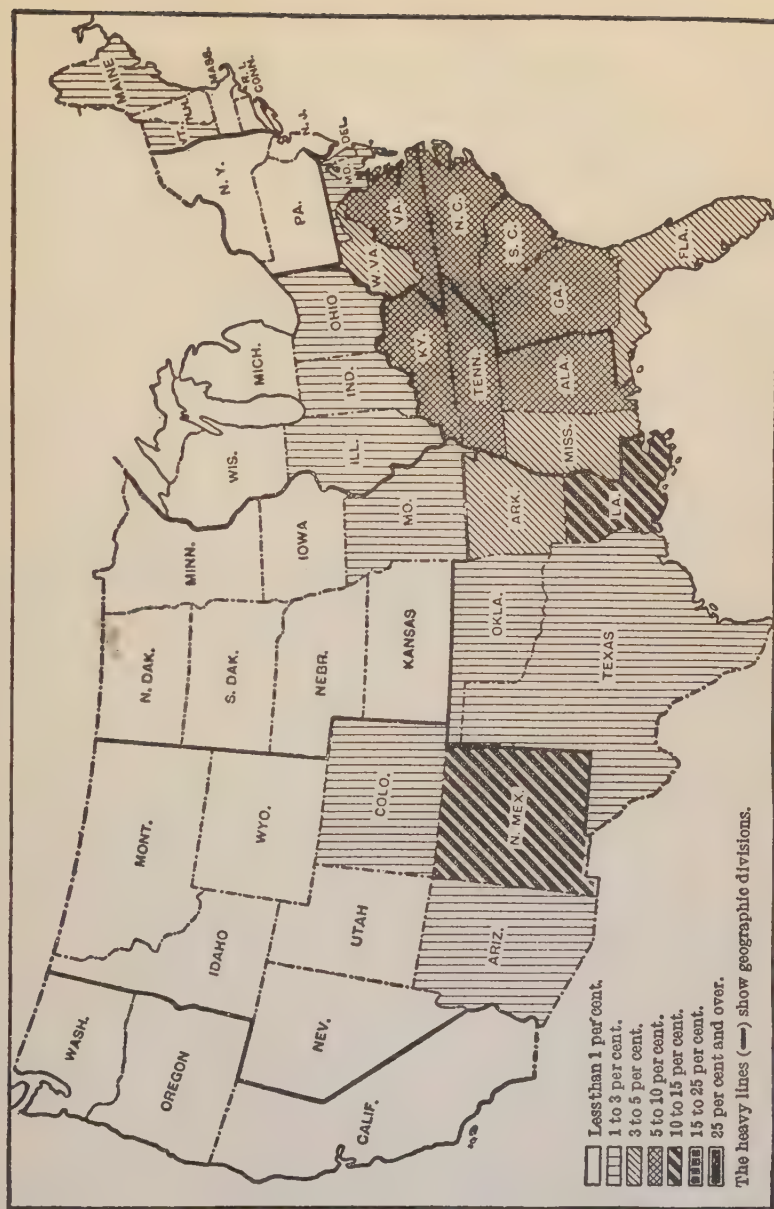
General governmental expenses	\$.082
Militia and armories	.01
Regulations affecting persons and property	.027
Other protection	.017
Development and conservation of natural resources...	.055
Conservation of health and sanitation	.024
Highways	.139
Charities, hospitals, and corrections	.163
Schools	.382
Libraries	.002
Recreation	.003
Miscellaneous	.096

GROUP ACTION AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

When our forefathers framed our government, they based their hope for the future upon the action of the individual voter. Hence, patriots look with dire misgiving upon the fact that our modern elections fail to "get out all the voters" and attribute this failure to vote to indifference and disloyalty. There is another side to this question, however; the American people are increasingly expressing themselves, not through the individual vote, but through group action. Thus organized labor, employers' organizations, chambers of commerce, woman voters' leagues, women's clubs, farmers' organizations and a thousand and one other organized groups are helping fulfil the will of the voters. Increasingly the promotion of matters of social adjustment rests upon the shoulders of organized groups and is most effectively carried forward when strong group organization is back of it. The day of independent and individual philanthropy is waning, and now even the matters of local charity are no longer considered philanthropies, but are regarded as "everybody's business." Now and then measures which have been defeated at the polls have been brought into force through the action of organized groups. For example, in the 1920 political campaign the newly enfranchised women petitioned the Republican convention to include in its platform a plank calling for the protection of mothers and infants. The Republican party did not see fit

¹⁶ *Financial Statistics of States* (1925), United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1927.

FIGURE 8
PER CENT ILLITERATE IN NATIVE WHITE POPULATION OF NATIVE PARENTS, TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER:
1920 *



* Census of 1920, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. II, p. 1,147. District of Columbia, 0.3 per cent, not shown separately on the map.

to include this in its platform, and the women prevailed upon the Democratic party to make this one of its planks. The Republicans won the election, so the measure seemed lost. A little later, however, representatives of the National Federation of Women's Organizations called upon President Harding and asked him to include this measure in his message. He did so, and the Shepherd-Towner Act was passed. Thus, what the women failed to win by their individual votes, they obtained through group action.

Consequently the technic of obtaining social adjustment includes educating the organized groups of the community, state, and nation, and winning their active support of the needed measures.

STABILITY OF POPULATION AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

As we have already noted, one of the features which distinguishes the United States from Europe is the mobility and shifting of population that is constantly altering the structure of the community. This constant movement of the population seriously impedes social adjustment. As we ripen into national maturity, this tendency seems to become more pronounced. The nature of these shifts of population will be discussed elsewhere, and here we need only mention those phases which affect adjustment. In the first place, as our agricultural communities become more settled, the value of farm land and the amount of capital required for stocking a farm make it increasingly difficult for a young man to become a farm-owner. Consequently tenancy has been increasing and will doubtless continue to increase. In 1880 approximately one-quarter of the farms of the United States were operated by tenants. In 1920, 38.1 per cent of the farms were in the hands of tenants.¹⁷ In the twelve states of the North Central division, 31.1 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants in 1920. This included 679,426 farms, containing 120,673,840 acres and valued at approximately \$15,500,000,000.¹⁸

It is estimated that in 1922, 27 per cent of the farm-tenants and 6 per cent of the farm-owners changed locations, that is, either moved from one farm to another, or from the farm to the city.¹⁹ Thus the tenant is constantly moving, and his primary aim is to get out of the soil as much as he can without putting anything back into it. Thus 21 per cent of the

¹⁷ This includes the Southern negro cropper. In some of the Southern states, *e.g.*, Georgia and Mississippi, two-thirds of the farms are operated by tenants, chiefly negro croppers. See *Agricultural Year Book*, 1923, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, p. 513.

¹⁸ *United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, No. 1,433, Washington, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 589.

rented farms in the North Central division were reported as decreasing in fertility.²⁰

Perhaps of even more importance than soil depletion and its attendant evils is the fact that increase of tenancy means the growth of a landlord class which is perhaps as little interested in paying taxes for the benefit of the tenant class as the tenants are in maintaining the fertility of the soil and social institutions of the community. As the proportion of tenant population increases, the difficulties of maintaining social adjustments increase.

This problem of tenancy is further aggravated by the fact that the leaders of social life in the agricultural communities are also migratory. Seldom do the school-teachers remain in the same community for more than three years, and the tenure of the rural preachers is even less. The rural church has faced and still faces the serious problem of maintaining a grip upon the spiritual life of the community, chiefly because the rural minister is either a young man whose ambition is to secure a church in a larger center as early as possible, or, what is worse, an old man who has given his best years to the city. Hence the rural institutions have not only lagged behind those of the city, but, in a large proportion of the rural communities, have actually degenerated.

Mobility of population is not only characteristic of the rural community, but is becoming even more accentuated in the larger cities. The boarding-house and apartment population is hardly more interested in community development than is the tenant farmer. Thus we find a constant turnover in the population of the various residential zones of our cities, and community institutions have found it necessary to change the character of their work to fit the needs of the constantly changing population.²¹

SPIRITUAL LIFE AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Finally, a factor which must be taken into account and which to no small extent determines the rate of social adjustment is the spiritual life of the community. By the spiritual life, we mean here the attitude which people take toward themselves, toward others, and toward their ideals and religion. Undoubtedly these attitudes are largely the product of the factors which we have just discussed. Yet they are forces which must be considered apart from these conditions. Many times social reformers are confronted with a spirit of careless indifference on the part of the people

²⁰ *United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, No. 1,433, p. 38.

²¹ Bowman, LeRoy E., "Population Mobility and Community Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, 1926, pp. 133-137.

of the community and oftentimes there is what we have termed a spirit of "conservatism," of satisfaction with things as they are, of a dislike or dread of change. Under such circumstances, there is need for stirring the emotional life of the community to the point where social conscience is strong enough to create a will for action. Then, too, the spiritual life of the community is oftentimes abnormally diseased with hatreds, suspicion, jealousies, and factional friction. What one part of the community wants, other elements of the community are bound to oppose, and the possibility of obtaining unified coöperative effort seems out of the question. Wherever any of these attitudes are thus unfavorable to the consideration of programs of social adjustment, the community is held back and retarded. Subtle though they are, these spiritual factors are perhaps the most vexing obstacles to social reform.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What part does custom and tradition play in the development of society? Indicate what you regard as the most significant contributions of the ancient Greeks, the Jews, the Romans, the Germans, the English, the modern Italians, and the Russians.
2. America has often been referred to as "the Melting-Pot." What has been the success or failure in fusing the many nationalities into one? Are old customs and traditions easily "melted?" Have we developed a distinctive American culture out of these diverse elements, or are we a "polyglot boarding-house?" Discuss.
3. List several worn-out customs and traditions, and indicate whether their influence is local or national in scope. What problems of adjustment do they affect?

4. What part have geographic and physical conditions had in the development of social life in the United States? To what extent have we overcome the influences of topography and climate? What geographic and climatic conditions still affect our problems of social adjustment?
5. Show how economic factors affect the problem of social adjustment. How does poverty affect the possibility of keeping pace with the progress demanded by social change? Give an illustration which relates to the situation of a single family. Give another illustration which relates to a whole group or section.
6. Show how the continual migration of the progressive and discontented inhabitants of a community to other communities may in time affect the social life of the old community.
7. If you had charge of the management of a large number of employees of different nationalities and races, what consideration would you give to the differences in temperament of the various groups?
8. Indicate how the feeble-minded, epileptic, and degenerate affect the progress of a community in its efforts to keep pace with progress.
9. Outline a program for the reduction of illiteracy in your state.
10. Give three illustrations of your own showing how government and politics affect the problem of social adjustment.
11. Should farmers attempt to make a political issue out of the question of farm relief, or should they pay more attention to the completion of a strong farmers' organization? Explain.
12. Give an illustration of your own, obtained either from your personal observation or from your general reading, showing how the mobility of the population affects the process of meeting community problems.
13. After considering carefully the social life of your community, answer the following: (a) To what extent and in what particulars does *laissez-faire* ("hands off") express the attitude of the community toward social maladjustments? (b) To what extent and in what particulars are *coöperation* and *service* coming to be recognized as the proper attitude? (c) What groups or agencies of the community are the chief exponents of each of these policies?

PART II

PROBLEMS OF POPULATION

CHAPTER 4

THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE POPULATION PROBLEM

A century ago Carlyle dubbed economics "the dismal science." It had gained that title because of the utterances of the Reverend Richard T. Malthus, whose population theories were then considered extremely pessimistic, and whose outlook for the human race was anything but hopeful. Economics has since demonstrated the fact that it is a purveyor of anything but gloom, and in the so-called pessimism of the period we may recognize to-day a general refusal to be blindly optimistic, and a determination to consider factual evidence in this most important field of population no matter where it may lead. It was more a case of intellectual integrity than of loss of hope. That we are still too much in the frame of mind of Malthus' critics is evidenced by the fact that both from the platform and through the press we are constantly being assured that the population problem is a bugaboo born of the minds of timorous arm-chair theorists. Recently a New York daily discussed the problem in a full double column of bold-face type. It concludes that "those worried by increase of population do not realize the earth's size or its fertility, or think about the spaces now wasted." It bolsters up the argument with a repetition of the old fallacy that "every human being now on earth could be fed by the State of Texas alone, under intensive cultivation, and there would be a surplus."

A PROBLEM OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The population problem is in the main but another aspect of the universal problem of supply and demand. Physical existence of course depends on the supply of standing-room on the earth and on the available supplies of natural resources thereon and therein contained. Naturally a direct relationship exists between the number of people (consumers) and the amount of space and natural resources. Some day we may be able to tap the resources of other planets, but for the present we are limited to the wealth of our own. While man cannot increase the amount of the material resources of the earth except in the line of directive and selective planting and breeding, he can increase their availability. There was more iron in the earth in the days of Pithecanthropus than there is to-

day, but he neither knew how to get it nor how to use it if he had it. For him, since it was not available, it practically did not exist. Till an improved and inexpensive process of extracting aluminium from clay was invented in the laboratory by a student at Oberlin College in Ohio, the supply of aluminium was strictly limited, though it was in existence in unlimited quantities in the earth. Human life, in fact all life, depends upon the supplies of the bases of life. Primarily, these are standing-room, or operating room, and food. Secondly, they are materials which may be used for the clothing and protection of the body, for shelter, and for the extraction of these materials and the further production of goods—the tools which man uses in the office, laboratory, and shop and in the process of just living a civilized human life.

MAN'S INSATIABLE WANTING CAPACITY

The demand for these possessions of Mother Earth seems to be insatiable. They are not limited to mere subsistence wants, as is rather uniformly the case in the plant and animal world. Man is not satisfied with a full stomach, a comfortable lair, and a mate. There is no limit to the standard of life to which he may aspire. He does not demand the impossible of the scientist in bringing into existence new goods and larger supplies, but he does demand his share as they are available. He may talk of "the simple life" and of "the good old days," but he does not want to live them. He speaks of "oversupply" and of "glutting the market," but there is no supply over and above what he could and would use. It is not that too much has been made available for the use of man, but that too much has been produced for the maintenance of the expected and often justified profits. It is doubtful if we could produce more than we could consume. Over a period of time, whenever a larger supply is in sight, either an encouraged birth-rate provides increasing numbers to consume it, or an increased share for each raises the standard of living.

Man wants not only subsistence but a guarantee of the same for all time. He wants the prestige and power conferred by greater stores, and hence more power and security, than his fellows. As soon as he has subsistence, he wants better subsistence, and with it leisure. It is this "plus" element that distinguishes human from animal life and brings with it what we fondly call "civilization." We may understand the standard-of-living concept better if we think of it in terms of the size and content of the individual share of this world's goods. The great product of civilization is social opportunity; opportunity to observe, learn, enjoy, and do. Here also the demand is always treading on the heels of the supply and the

quarrel between classes is not so much for more social opportunity as for a fairer distribution.

While oversupplies of available goods, services, and even standing-room are, due to man's insatiable wanting power and his potential fecundity, both unusual and abnormal, undersupplies of both goods and opportunity are the expected and the order of the day. Hence, in the study of the problems of human population we are vitally interested in the matters of actual and potential supplies of natural and social resources.

THE SUPPLY OF AND DEMAND FOR HUMAN BEINGS

The population problem is furthermore the problem of the supply of and demand for the human beings which go to make up populations and hence societies. It has been estimated that before the coming of the whites to the North American continent it was already showing signs of population pressure. This was evidenced by the chronic warfare waged between native tribes and other checks to population increase. We are told that, for the Indian's manner of life, twenty-five square miles of territory was required to supply the needs of the individual. To-day, in the period of advanced production which has replaced the Indian's hunting-and-finding economy, this same country is capable of supporting not one individual to twenty-five square miles, but more than twenty-five individuals to one square mile. The geographical area is unchanged, but man has progressed; he has learned to make available materials and forces which were still denied to the original inhabitants of the area. Furthermore, this much larger population is able to live in far greater security and comfort, and there are evidences that a still larger population can be accommodated. We are justified in concluding that, for any given stage of technique, and within a given geographical area, there is an *optimum number*, i.e., a supply of human beings, which will function with the maximum efficiency and to the maximum advantage of all.

Character of the Problem. The question of the supply of numbers of human beings, then, is not a static problem which can be solved once and for all. It is complicated by the factor of the development of science and man's power of increasing the availability of natural resources. We are fond of the expression that the railroad "opened the West." It is equally correct to say that the railroad made available supplies of natural resources and standing-room which in turn made possible the support of more human beings. Every invention which increases the availability of human goods makes possible a larger local or world population. It may be, however, that the populations of the areas affected will choose rather

to maintain the same numbers at a higher standard of living than to support a larger number at the old standard of living. In India, at least, one of the effects of British occupation has been the introduction of commerce, industry, and more efficient agricultural methods. But the Indians have used the resulting surplus mainly in supporting an increased population, rather than in raising the general standard of living. In Japan the opposite has been the case. It is true that serious population pressure is present, but this is because Japan has raised her standard of living and is endeavoring to maintain it in the face of a too large supply of human beings.

STANDING-ROOM AND STANDARD OF LIVING

If we accept the rough estimate that the earth affords fifty million square miles of land surface, exclusive of the polar regions, we can readily estimate the number of people for whom there will be standing-room. It is a rather sobering thought to discover that on the basis of four square feet per individual, a single section of land a mile on a side will accommodate nearly seven million individuals. On this basis we might crowd upon the earth 350 million million persons. But we could not keep them alive. Hence the first limit to the total supply of human beings is found in the matter of geographical area, or standing-room, and the second is in the supply of the materials these human beings need to sustain life. Not only are these goods limited in amount, but their production, extraction, and transportation also requires space.

There is a difference between the number of inhabitants who can possibly be maintained within a given area and the number we desire to maintain. The only reason for having a desire in the matter is the standard of living, which we hope either to maintain or to raise. Man will strive for new and additional comforts of life and will fight with every weapon at hand, the curtailing of those comforts to which he has become accustomed.

The problem of the supply of human beings, then, is the problem of securing and maintaining for any given stage of social advance an optimum number which will give the best man-land ratio. The law of diminishing returns here applies. Either too small or too large a population will produce less per individual, and consequently be compelled to live at a lower level of subsistence, than a population which keeps a proper balance between men and resources.

THE QUALITY OF THE POPULATION

While supply and demand obviously has to do with numbers and quantities of men and resources, we should not overlook *quality*, or the physical and mental traits of the population. Human beings are not just human beings. They run the whole gamut from genius to degenerate; from those incapable of socialization to the most highly socialized. They are normal, subnormal, and supernormal. If a good mind in a healthy body is a requisite to individual success, it is equally true that group success depends on well-distributed bodily health and mental vigor among its members. Our first demand, then, is for an optimum supply of human beings: our second, for an optimum supply of good heredity. It is understood that this optimum is based on and conditioned by the availability of natural resources.

Is it too much to ask that we take as great care in producing a population of fit human beings as we do in the case of the animals on our farms? Farmers do not breed from the scrubs in their herds, but there is reason for expressing the fear that the scrubs of the human herd are not only breeding freely, but are furnishing society with an entirely disproportionate number of their kind.

OPTIMISM AND THE RACE-SUICIDE BUGABOO

In no other field have we been so complacently optimistic. This optimism has usually been connected with periods of normalcy, and has appeared in areas of prosperity such as the United States. The Napoleonic wars and the English Industrial Revolution offered the background to the pessimistic utterances of Malthus. The prosperity of the nineteenth century did much to discredit him. But the cataclysmic results of the World War have again sobered us, and we find the world in a proper frame of mind once more to consider seriously the possible relation between the balance of population and abnormal social conditions. This is one strange characteristic of the human mind. It refuses to be anything but optimistic except in the face of crisis. When the flood comes and towns are swept away, we are moved to mend the dam. We seldom lock the stable till the horse has been stolen. We do not pass immigration laws till our population has been swamped with undesirables. Then we are apt to go to the other extreme and exclude beyond all reason. It is strange that even so keen a mind as that of Theodore Roosevelt should have been stampeded by the "race-suicide" bugaboo. The facts were at hand. True,

the birth-rate is smaller, but the survival rate is much higher. It does not require higher mathematics to estimate what would happen if we continued to produce families of a dozen and continued, also, to reduce the mortality rate as we have done through modern medicine, sanitation, and hygiene. It is entirely possible for a group to double itself in size in the course of a single generation. It is theoretically possible, though not probable, to increase its size fourfold. If each couple brought into the world but six children who attained maturity and followed a similar program, then each couple would replace themselves and add two more couples to the total population. Even on the basis of trebling our population each generation, it would require but three centuries for a single pair to become the ancestors of one million souls. Of course this takes into account only normal death from old age and not such "acts of God" as snatch us from this earth before our time.

THE DECREASING DEATH-RATE

Another fact adding complexity to the situation is that we are decreasing the death-rate. The average length of life in the United States is now nearly sixty years and Dr. Charles H. Mayo sees the possibility of adding another ten. In sadly overpopulated China it is doubtful if it is twenty. Still, China's birth-rate stands at the maximum. Her standard of living is at the minimum and it is only by striking a balance between births and deaths that she can continue to exist at all. Is there danger of race-suicide? Such a birth-rate spells race slaughter and the slow starvation of civilization. Still we condemn rational consideration of the problem on predominantly emotional and theological grounds. "We must not tamper with the divine plan." Perhaps the divine plan is that we must take heed for the morrow, and only in so doing can that plan be worked out.

DANGER OF UNLIMITED BREEDING

There is no problem of more vital significance. Unlimited breeding with the certainty of untimely and unnecessary death results in economic, social, and biological waste. Unlimited breeding with normal survival dooms the standard of living. Unlimited breeding from the scrubs in the human stock invites disaster. National prosperity depends not on mere numbers, else China would be the most prosperous nation on the face of the earth. As it is, she is the poorest. National prosperity depends on the proper balance between men and the available means of subsistence. Furthermore, it depends upon the quality of that man-power. There

is a vast difference between a nation of half-starved coolies and a nation of vigorous and intelligent workers.

SURVIVAL OF CIVILIZATIONS

While populations are made up of mortals who die natural deaths, civilizations can and should be immortal. Longevity for societies should bring with it increased strength and security. The social sciences attempt to discover the laws of societal sanitation and hygiene, but neither theories nor plans of social progress can be of lasting benefit to the human species till the laws governing the supply of and the demand for populations have been understood. After all, the workable surface of the earth is strictly limited, and all we can hope to do is to utilize what is present with increasing economy and intelligence.

Danger of Gambling in Futures. We have made great strides in learning how to use and aid nature; in learning how to insure crops and to eliminate waste in the processes of production; in controlling water supply; in deriving power from new and unexpected sources; in producing synthetically certain materials of which Mother Nature has been somewhat niggardly; and in perfecting processes for the extraction of materials which Mother Nature has compounded with others. At present we are looking for more and more easily accessible stores of nitrogen, and the time may come when we shall easily extract it from the air. The time may come, also, when the problem of power will be as easily solved. We cannot afford, however, to gamble in futures. It will be time enough when that day comes, to meet it. Furthermore, not even our wildest conjectures as to what the synthetic chemists can do for us warrant the optimistic belief that we need take no account of the numbers of the social population. After all, the amount of the earth's surface is strictly limited, and likewise standing-room and space for crops, factory buildings, and channels of communication.

RELATION OF POPULATION PROBLEMS TO OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Conditions of population quantity and quality are at the bottom of more social, economic, and political problems than we are willing to admit. For purposes of propaganda we are led to believe that Germany caused the World War; that Japan is only waiting for a chance to attack us; and that China is so degenerate that Western nations will be shirking clear responsibility unless they step in and divide her up. The social scientist knows, however, that causes seldom lie on the surface, and that explanations of group action in terms of "general cussedness" are little more than

hysteria. Louis I. Dublin, in the first chapter of his *Population Problems*, has the following to say:

"The World War was essentially the outgrowth of a pressing population problem which confronted the nations of Europe ten years ago. The peoples of Central Europe were overcrowded. Each country needed room for expansion, and desired additional markets and colonies, where surplus peoples could be accommodated, and food could be raised for the use of the homeland. Germany more than any other country was striving for a place in the sun, and found her borders shadowed on the one hand by France and on the other by Russia. To make matters worse, she felt a sense of superiority to France, whose population she had far outstripped in numbers. The year 1914 seemed an opportune time to strike for more territory. The fears engendered in France and Russia by an ever growing Germany contributed to a state of mind which made war inevitable. This is an outstanding example of an almost universal condition. In the Balkan countries, the same situation prevailed; each dreamed of a greater Greece, or Bulgaria, or Roumania, as the case might be, a dream which could be realized only at the expense of a neighboring country."¹

Thus, as the saturation point is reached in populations separated by national boundaries, a wasteful warfare, sometimes political, but more often commercial, and therefore eminently respectable, is indulged in. In it is no idea of advancing world progress and improving general social conditions. The motive is purely selfish, except in so far as a "superman" or "Nordic superiority" philosophy justifies the end. With population pressure within national boundaries come congestion in cities, slums, exploitation, poverty, crime, class strife, an endangered standard of living, inordinate struggles to maintain that standard, and finally, the struggle for mere subsistence. In America we have observed the phenomenal disappearance of the frontier, the slaughter of our forests, the mining of the fertility of our Middle Western prairies, and the criminal waste of our oil. We have welcomed immigrants beyond the point of employment. In turn we have pointed with pride to the heterogeneous character of our population, and cursed the foreigner who has come here and both out-earned and out-bred us. There is no need for Klan activities so long as jobs are plentiful. So soon as the pressure is felt we are ready for any "America for Americans" program, no matter how utterly selfish it may be or how diametrically opposed to our cherished ideals of democracy. Race antipathies and national intolerances bear a direct ratio to the intensity of inter-population competition.

¹ Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1926, pp. 3-4.

REALITY OF POPULATION PROBLEM IN AMERICA

It is not true that the population problem is mainly a problem of Europe and Asia. The world's greatest population problem is that of the United States. In most of the countries of Europe and Asia, the saturation point has already been reached and their problem is clearly one of either restriction or outlet: solving the problem permanently at home, or finding temporary relief abroad. Moreover, the populations of most of these countries are entirely homogeneous and thus much potential friction is absent. In America, on the other hand, while certain portions of our vast domain are as yet undeveloped and therefore underpopulated, we have in addition to the problem of numbers the far greater problem of Americanization. This is the problem of bringing homogeneity out of heterogeneity—order out of chaos. It is the problem of making "the melting-pot" really melt. We used to boast that one could visit a half-dozen foreign countries in a single afternoon in the city of Chicago. We now know the price which such a privilege costs. Added to this, we have our negro and American Indian problems, which alone make a staggering combination.

IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS AND CONSIDERATION OF
POPULATION PROBLEM

It was not until the eighteenth century that man began to consider seriously the possibility of bettering his lot here and now on earth. Prior to that time, theology had taught him that his reward would come in the hereafter; that his suffering here would be rewarded by an inheritance of the earth in the life to come. It is strangely paradoxical that the actual possessors of the earth were perfectly content to take their chance on the future supremacy of their less fortunately situated brethren of the flesh. With the eighteenth century, however, came the struggle for more equal distribution of this world's goods, and the honest attempt to solve, rather than merely to ameliorate, adverse social conditions. We no longer attempt to justify poverty with a text or to explain degeneracy and defect by means of theology. The Psalmist sang,

"I have been young, and now I am old;
Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken,
Nor his seed begging bread."

The statement as it stands may be true, but you and I, if we have taken any thought in the matter, have seen the seed of the righteous in serious

economic distress. While we must, of course, recognize that bad heredity and mental inferiority can be passed on from generation to generation, we are loath to believe that the "iniquity" or *sin* of the fathers will be visited upon the children "to the third and fourth generations." We hesitate to look upon misfortune as present or continued retaliation for the *iniquities* of the elders. There was danger in such a position. It made possible an altogether too complacent attitude toward the social maladjustments which could have been no part of Jehovah's plan. We have learned to shoulder our own responsibilities: to seek for and to discover the social causes of sin and suffering. Adverse social conditions have become social problems.

General social conditions have been improved. They are vastly better than they were two centuries ago, though it is a question as to whether or not much change had taken place during the centuries which preceded that time. Every step in progress, however, has had its fight against ignorance, apathy, prejudice, and preconception. It is so easy to say "You must take the world as you find it," "God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world," and adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude toward everything in general, especially the misfortunes of others. This seems particularly the case with any efforts directed toward population policies or programs, as such. The Lord "giveth" and the Lord hath "taken away," therefore it is not seemly that mere man should take thought as to the numbers that he will accept from the hand of the Lord, nor yet the heredity or the type of bodies in which their souls shall live. Perhaps in no other field do the pre-eighteenth-century explanations and emotional reactions hold stronger sway than in the field of population.

It must not be understood that this appeal for a sane and scientific approach to, and recognition of, the problems of the quantity and quality of the social population is a mere apologia for birth-control and sterilization propaganda. Birth-control is but one of many suggestions, and with regard to it we are apt to refuse to face the fact that it is already widely practiced. Control over genetic increase cannot be accomplished through legislation. It is of a sufficiently private and delicate nature that direct methods of control defeat their own purpose. Such control must be founded in customs, traditions, mores, and social values. In this function men can be taught but not driven. This, however, is a subject which will be treated more fully in a later chapter.

In conclusion, the population problem is the basic social problem of our generation. It is the one on which all others depend for their final and satisfactory solution. It is the problem of optimum numbers and of optimum quality. "Failure or unwillingness, therefore, to consider the

limitations placed upon the material basis of progress by a strictly limited land supply, and increasing difficulty of securing food, raw materials, and power requisite to the needs of an expanding population, can be attributed only to ingrained preconception and prejudice.”²

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the adverse conditions in the world population situation which make it a social problem?
2. What are the specific adverse conditions in the population situation in the United States which give rise to our population problem?
3. What is the dual nature of the population problem? What are the two main phases of the problem?
4. What is the “supply-and-demand” aspect of the population problem?
5. What is the relation of man's wanting capacity or standard of living to the problem of numbers? Does it bear any relation to the problem of quality?
6. What is the difference between the wanting capacity of man and that of the lower animals? Does this affect the population problem?
7. What is meant by an *optimum* supply of human beings?
8. What is the fallacy of the statement that “all men are created free and equal?” What bearing does this have on the population problem?
9. What are the reasons why societies have maintained such a consistent *laissez-faire* attitude toward the population problem?
10. Why is the population problem one of the most important problems with which society is faced to-day? Is it more of a problem to-day than formerly? Why are we awakening to its importance?

² Wolfe, A. B., *Readings in Social Problems*, Boston, 1916, p. 1.

11. What is the density of population of your state? county? city?
12. Compare the densities of the various counties of your state?
13. Where and why do you find the greatest densities? the smallest?
14. What is the area of your state?
15. What would the population be on the basis of twenty-five per square mile? of fifty per square mile? of 100? of one to each four square feet? if each family had a 100-acre farm?

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CHAPTER 5

POPULATION PRACTICES AND THEORIES

Having indicated the existence of the population problem and its importance, let us turn to a brief survey of what men have done and thought about it. Unfortunately the uninformed are in the habit of referring to any attempt to cope with the population problem as "Malthusianism" in much the same manner as they refer to evolution as "Darwinism." Population theories are no more Malthusianism than modern astronomy is astrology, or chemistry, alchemy. These sciences have progressed far beyond the limits of their strange beginnings, and so also have population theories outgrown the limited vision of T. R. Malthus and the closing years of the eighteenth century. It is not that Malthus has been discredited; he has been superseded. We have traveled with, but beyond, him.

EARLY APPEARANCE OF THE POPULATION PROBLEM

Population problems were not the discovery of the eighteenth century, nor did that century present to the world the first theories, practices, and programs in the field. The population specter has been present since the beginning of human society, and with good reason. As the fear of too few for safety or too many for comfort, it was perhaps more keenly felt, though less clearly recognized, in the beginning than to-day. At least our present situation is less precarious than that of primitive man, with his ineffective methods of coping with the forces of nature and the constant danger in which he lived. There was continually with him the desire for the extra fighter and producer and at the same time the fear of the extra mouth to feed. "The view once widely held that the principle of population must inevitably keep the mass of people close to the verge of the bare means of subsistence was no statement of a desirable ideal. It was a nightmare; a nightmare none the less, though it may haunt us yet." Malthus himself, after the writing of his first essay and further study of the problem, expressed his surprise at the amount and age of the material which he found on the subject. The Egyptians felt it necessary to get rid of the first-born of the Hebrews; and the Greek philosophers not only recognized the problem, but expressed themselves freely as to what should be done about it. Attitudes have varied with periods because time's changes have brought with them now the need for encouragement and now the

desirability of the discouragement of population increase. Times of plenty and times of scarcity are reflected in the current attitudes toward the problem. Periods of pessimism and optimism alternate. The unfortunate thing is that societies forget the experiences of the past and are apt to imagine each time that they have discovered the final truth of the matter.

PRACTICES PRODUCING INCREASE

The practices which have been in vogue for the increase of the social population are too numerous to catalogue. Early groups made a general practice of killing the males captured in war and retaining the females as secondary mates. This increased the potential productivity of males without a corresponding increase in the number of food-consumers. Pre-marital intercourse was frequently tolerated, not because of degeneracy but in order that females might demonstrate their fertility before being taken as permanent mates. The barren woman was thus excluded from the marriage market and probably soon disappeared from the social horizon. Early marriage defeats its purpose in that with it is apt to come early sterility, but it does have the effect of increasing the number of generations to the century. The Chinese father has one major desire, and that is to see his sons married and fruitful at as early an age as possible and to hold, if Heaven be so kind, his grandchildren in his arms before his death. With regard to his daughters, his main interest is to replace them in the home with daughters-in-law. Persecution of the bachelor and elimination of the barren woman have been found effective in times and places. The prestige of parenthood and the elevation of motherhood have had their effect. It is interesting to conjecture what were the actual numerical fruits of the famous Roosevelt and Harding letters to the parents of exceptionally large families. There can be no question that social recognition of this sort might be eagerly sought in certain social strata in which it is not highly desirable to encourage the birth-rate. At any rate, these letters did bolster up large family prestige. Society is remarkably sensitive to family size traditions, and standards as to what is expected of a couple are fairly effective. These large-family and early-fecundity traditions take the form of social sanctions enforced in the main through public opinion and religion. Other agencies of encouragement might be mentioned, but we will turn to those which discourage population increase.

PRACTICES PRODUCING DECREASE

Infanticide and abortion seem to be practices which are as old as man. So long as the patriarch holds life-and-death authority over his chil-

dren and his female possessions, he is at liberty to accept or reject the children which his wife or wives present him. The practices of infanticide and abortion are natural concomitants. Prostitution is common where marriage is too long postponed either in deference to public opinion or because of economic necessity. It also follows social degeneration. Both prostitution and late marriage are effective in cutting down the general birth-rate. The encouragement, and sometimes the elevation, of celibacy and virginity have the same effect. They are deleterious in that they more often discourage fecundity among the ones who should be and are fitted for parenthood than among those who are not. An almost universal practice has been that of the persecution of undesirable groups. Spain rid herself of her Moors, Jews, and heretics, thus eliminating at the same time skilled workmen, traders, and thinkers. The trouble is that when this method is used, the persecutors are apt to be very poor judges of desirability. It is interesting to note that in old Japan emigration was a capital offense, while the new Japan is committed to a policy of finding an outlet for her surplus population. Finally custom and tradition, in the social approval of small families and the general astonishment which is usually expressed over families of "good old size," as effectively keep the family down as, under different circumstances, they keep it up. Of course, social approval implies some method or means whereby its desire may be accomplished. This may be found in the postponement of marriage or in the various more or less modern contraceptive devices which have for their purpose the control of conception. Fortunately infanticide and abortion are no longer as common as they formerly were. This is due to the fact that they are no longer as necessary. Instead of destroying infants after they are born, it is now customary to prevent their birth. Unfortunately knowledge of this more modern technic is under strict legal ban and is more a possession of the upper than of the lower classes.

We should mention the further fact that stages of civilization, progress of the arts, and physical environment, while in no wise furnishing programs, affect both the birth-rate and the survival rate.

BASIS OF PRACTICES AND PROGRAMS

The need of the time is the mother of morals and of socially recognized programs. We rationalize that which is opportune, socially approve it, and accept it into the body of our mores. Society has possessed plenty of population attitudes and agencies, even programs, which were no more or less than the blind application of pragmatic tests. Indeed, society does not yet possess a national group with a carefully thought-out, scien-

tifically derived, and consciously applied population theory, aim, and program. It is possible that the ancient Spartans came closer to having and practicing such a program than any other people. We may say further that existing populations are in the main the accidents of natural evolution. Of these the most fearsome and grotesquely haphazard has been that of peopling the United States of America with the representatives of every race, nation, civilization, religion, political persuasion, and social and economic stratum in existence. We look at the process and call it "the melting-pot." The only trouble is that so far we have succeeded only in making it foam and boil. Our most vociferously 100 per cent Americans are apt to be about 99 per cent foreign both in physical make-up and mental content. The United States too has had plenty of population practices but never a clear-cut program. Even our latest step, the new immigration law, which was sired by *Science*, was actually born to *Politics*.

In the matter of population programs the social prophet is apt to size up the immediate situation correctly and imagine that thereby he has discovered universal laws which are to hold for all time. We are prone to take the short-time and opportunistic view, forgetting that environmental conditions are in constant flux. We will not remember that the words "be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth" were uttered to a very small boat-load of survivors from a certain well-known marine disaster. We insist on continuing the attempt to replenish already over-replenished areas. A Chinese sage said to a *young* and *growing* people, "Of the three great evils, the greatest is to die without posterity." The same dictum, however, still operates as a sanction in the same country in its *old age* and *exhaustion* from overpopulation. When will we learn to test and appraise our slogans as we do the tools and machines which we use in daily life. It has been said that if we exhibited and applied as much intelligence and ingenuity in the solution of our social problems as we do at any wayside garage in the treatment of an ailing car, the millennium would be at hand.

POPULATION ATTITUDE INHERITED FROM OUR ANCESTORS

As has already been intimated, while there were population attitudes and practices among primitive men, there were no population theories in the accepted sense of the term. Blind, groping practices were rationalized and accepted. Children were born and must have died in tremendous numbers. Life was hard and existence precarious. War was the normal state, and famine lurked ever near. Under conditions such as these it is not strange that the normal population need should be for larger numbers.

The problem was mainly that of replenishment. It is entirely logical, then, that the only policy of primitive men should be one of encouragement. We do find cases, of course, of favorably located groups in more or less definitely limited areas, *e.g.*, small oceanic islands, where the problem is less a matter of maintaining numbers than of maintaining food supplies. Here practices are resorted to for the purpose of curbing numbers, but such cases seem to be exceptional.

As man progresses, life becomes more secure. Violent and unnecessary death decreases in amount and the older practices become less necessary. It is at this point that the modern population problem begins: the problem of adjusting numbers to the potential food supply. Man has never been able to rid himself entirely, however, from these fears engendered in the childhood of the race. To-day as then, in the popular mind numbers and security seem to go together; there is an eternal fear of group extinction.

This was the case with the nations of classical antiquity. Inheriting the customs, traditions, mores, and social values of remoter times, the population problem was to them in the main, though not entirely, the problem of securing larger numbers. The problem of the quality of social population was vaguely recognized, and the theory was even advanced that too large a population might disturb the balance between the demand for and the supply of goods to be consumed. Reuter contends that, "The abstract theories of the Greeks in regard to population were a function of the time—little more than a rationalization and systematization of the prevailing folk practices." Their philosophers, however, were thinking along these lines, and most amazingly anticipated even Malthus in some of his positions. *Thinking* along these lines had begun, but it hardly seems that we have ourselves yet reached the *doing* stage. In the main, where population pressure was felt, there was no definite program to meet it and the programs of encouragement of increase merely fell into disuse or were neglected.

GREEK THEORY AND PRACTICE

No people so systematically met and attacked the problems of quality and of abounding numbers as did the Greeks. Their approach to the problem, however, was different from the one which faces us. Theirs was not the unified population problem of a nation of 120,000,000 souls, but the separate problems of the component city-states of but a few thousand each.

Spartan Desire for Large Numbers of Healthy Children. Spartan practice was the most complete and strict of all. In general their aim was

a high birth-rate and healthy children. The matter of marriage followed the current philosophy that the individual existed for the state and that his interests and desires were secondary to the general welfare. Hence marriage was not only compulsory, but was arranged without reference to individual preference. So also was the age at marriage, the object being to choose that age in both males and females which would result in the largest number of offspring. Reuter remarks that the state was more interested in fruitfulness than it was in legitimacy. Bachelors were penalized in various ways and special recognition was accorded to fathers of three or more sons.

Infanticide was used and socially recognized as a method of getting rid of weaklings. It was not used for the purpose of reducing numbers. Whether the weakling was exposed because he would himself be a drag on society or because he would make an undesirable parent is difficult to say.

Athens. Athenian practice was far less rigid than that of the Spartans, though it had much the same intent. The individual was allowed greater freedom, and more respect was paid to his desires as an individual. Both Plato and Aristotle were in line with the practices of the time, and accepted the exposure of deformed and defective infants. Plato saw in marriage only a mechanism for the perpetuation of the race, but Aristotle saw in it some of the social possibilities which are mainly stressed to-day. "Breeding to him was not the sole purpose of the family."

ROME

The population problem of the Romans was different from that of the Greeks. Theirs was the problem of empire rather than the problem of city-states. They wisely chose to allow their dependencies to settle their own population problems and, at least in the earlier days of the Empire, were mainly interested in the increase in the numbers of potential fighting men. While they had remarkable laws on file, their chief object, according to Wright,¹ seems to have been "the preservation of the patrician families" rather than the increase of the numbers of the people as a whole.

PARADOXICAL ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY CHURCH

The paradoxical view of the early church, in complete opposition to the practices of the time, a reaction against the perversions and morals of the Roman Empire, despising the flesh and deprecating sex, not remotely interested either in the quantity or the quality of the population,

¹ Wright, H., *Population*, New York, 1923, p. 5.

is understood when we remember that they were looking for the speedy return of the Christ and, with His coming, the end of the earth. Their doctrines, in view of the moral degradation and degeneration which surrounded them, and the hope of immediate immortality which was held out to them, were both logical and understandable. It is difficult to understand, however, the lapse of twenty centuries having demonstrated their error as to the imminency of the end of things earthly, why Christian populations should continue to voice, though not to practice, these early social values. The church has, of course, been compelled not only to recognize but to regulate marriage as well. Marriage is encouraged, has been elevated to the rank of a sacrament, and the rearing of children is announced as a duty.

THE MIDDLE AGES

During the middle ages the whole matter continued to "revolve in the squirrel cage of theological controversy." From the position of the early church that marriage was merely a concession to the weakness of the flesh and to be tolerated as the lesser of two evils, we come to the position of Luther and later Protestant reformers, that the whole matter was in God's hands, that marriage was a duty, and that, once having entered the marriage state, one's further duty is clear. It is to take what God sends and suffer no interference with the divine plan. To Luther as to Kaiser Wilhelm II, woman's sphere was that of a breeding animal and a servant to man.

MORE'S UTOPIA

The "squirrel cage" of theology did not, however, completely inhibit thought. Thomas More in his *Utopia* limited cities to populations of not more than 6,000, but would have families produce from ten to sixteen children. One can only wonder at the destruction of life which he anticipated and took for granted. Bacon, Raleigh, and others saw in overpopulation the cause of wars; and Raleigh even went so far as to anticipate Malthus in his discussion of some of the positive checks to population increase, such as hunger, pestilence, and war.

EFFECTS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Following the Thirty Years' War, however, a sadly depleted Europe recognized the population problem of the moment. Political science, economics, and theology combined in an attempt to demonstrate the desirability of numbers. The main desire was for a larger body of laborers, producers of wealth, that the power and prosperity of the state might be increased. No particular responsibility was felt for the laborer thus pro-

duced. It was taken for granted that he would have to exist at the subsistence level. The literature of the period is dominated by this note. Political security, happiness, economic prosperity, and the very hope of Heaven itself were made to depend on large and rapidly growing populations. Slowly, however, growing humanitarian sentiments were forcing men to consider the poverty, pauperism, and suffering everywhere about them, and by the end of the eighteenth century the sentiment had been widely expressed that the growth of population was a matter which might be overdone to such an extent as to become seriously detrimental to the general social welfare. It was a period of agitation for reform, of revolt against the luxury of the rich and the sufferings of the poor.

BEGINNINGS OF THE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Another indication that the problems of population were leaving the field of emotional hysteria and entering the realm of scientific consideration is the new use to which statistics, "political arithmetic" as it was then called, was put. Statistics as an aid to the state in levying taxes and raising armies has been known since early times. In the Bible are recorded various enumerations of population, but in reference only to the wealth and fighting strength of the state. As early as the latter half of the seventeenth century Petty and Graunt were collecting vital statistics and drawing deductions therefrom. Harold Wright calls attention to the work and ingenious deductions of Gregory King at the end of the seventeenth century. From his collection and study of vital statistics, King arrived at the following deductions:

"That the population of England was then some five and one-half millions;

"That the population had doubled during the past 435 years;

"That the next doubling would come in 600 years' time;

"That the next doubling would require from 1200 to 1300 years;

"That by the year 3500 or 3600 we might accordingly expect a population in England of 22,000,000 souls.

"That further increase will then be impossible since the per capita acreage will stand at two and the land will be incapable of supporting a larger population."

Gregory King would be surprised if he could visit these selfsame isles to-day and discover what populations are really capable of doing in the matter of increase. Even more surprising would be the standard of living they are capable of maintaining in the face of this increase. Starting with a population of 5,500,000 in 1700, he allowed six centuries for the next doubling; in 2300 the population was to be eleven million. The startling

fact is that in only two and one-quarter centuries the population has increased nearly eightfold. It is twice as large as the population which he foresaw in nearly nineteen centuries. It has, in two and one-quarter centuries, reached proportions which, according to his figures, would have required some forty centuries for their accomplishment. However, his study is interesting to us as an indication that thought along these lines was beginning, rather than as an example of rash speculation.

Johann Peter Süßmilch represents the middle period of the eighteenth century. He studied and contrasted city and country populations and attempted to prove certain theological speculations by means of statistical population facts.

In 1751 Benjamin Franklin entered the field, publishing his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind and the Peopling of Countries*. Franklin saw imminent overpopulation for Europe, but saw no reason why the American continent should not allow a doubling with each generation. Many other names might and perhaps should be mentioned among those who were beginning to appreciate the fact that there was another and a neglected aspect of the population problem. These had been expressing themselves with increasing frequency for a century before Malthus entered the arena. Five, however, led to and more directly influenced Malthus than any others. They were Hume, Wallace, and Adam Smith, who paved the way for and inspired his work; and Godwin and Condorcet, who drove him to it in his attempt to refute their boundless and groundless optimism.

MALTHUS AND MALTHUSIANISM

We have already noted the unfortunate currency of the labels "Darwinism" and "Malthusianism." Both Darwin and Malthus based their studies on the existing knowledge of their day, added their bits, enunciated their theories, and rested their cases. No one would have the temerity to suggest, as the use of their names would sometimes indicate, that there the matter stopped; that there is no more to the theory of evolution, for instance, than was discovered by Darwin seventy years ago.

Since Darwin's day we have discovered additional facts, but the biological organism, in the physical evolution of which he was interested, has not changed perceptibly. Social evolution, however, proceeds very much more rapidly than physical evolution, and the social life of to-day is very different from that of Malthus' time. The purely biological phenomena underlying his theory remain the same, but the more important conditioning social phenomena do not. Therefore any modern follower

of the doctrines of Malthus must reckon with certain social and psychological factors which had not then appeared.

Contrast between Malthus and Godwin. Malthus wrote for society as it had then evolved. It was a world of progress and adventure. Power-driven machinery was beginning to take the place of man-power and handicraft. New continents with both space and natural resources held out an alluring prospect. Godwin saw in the situation the promise of a better day, unlimited possibilities for human advance, and endless supplies of the material needs of life. He prophesied human perfectibility and universal well-being, and urged programs of population increase. The future to him was rosy indeed! Malthus was skeptical; he reacted against this wholesale and unwarranted optimism. He countered Godwin by pointing out that no matter what the food supply, so great was human reproductive power that food would always be in a condition of relative scarcity; that man was doomed to live in a state of chronic want except as various agencies operated to either reduce or keep down the birth-rate. Neither Godwin nor Malthus did or could foresee the progress which was shortly to be made in the discovery and application of more effective sources of power, and the networks of electric cables covering continents. They could not realize that the wonderful machinery of their day would be scrapped in less than a generation. If Godwin could have seen the ocean liners, railway trains, automobiles, and airships of to-day together with the factories, laboratories, offices, and public works of our present civilization, he would have had grounds for even greater optimism, if that were possible. And Malthus? His main thesis still would have held, but not all of his conclusions. There were other things which he did not foresee and which Godwin with all of his optimism did not guess. One was the new outlook on life which was to come with increased prosperity, higher standards of comforts, a widened horizon, and general educational opportunity. The welfare which Godwin looked for fell far short of what man has actually accomplished. Neither of them realized the wanting capacity of man once he was made *intelligent enough to want* and satisfactions were within reach. Neither did they realize the extent to which unnecessary sickness and death could be prevented, nor disaster averted. Surely such knowledge would have bolstered Malthus' contention regarding the multiplying power of man, but it would have been hailed by Godwin as well, as a further proof of possible perfectibility. Godwin dreamed of a time when men would satisfy their wants with but a few hours of labor each day. We are now producing goods at a rate which would do this were we to content ourselves with the standard of living which obtained in Godwin's day. The fact is, however, that we

are working harder, though perhaps fewer hours per day, than in his day and are still dissatisfied with the very much higher standard of living which we are able to maintain. Both were speaking in terms of the day in which they lived, and of a future not nearly so different as the present proves to be. It is not strange that the new population theory should be compelled to recognize factors which did not exist when Malthus wrote. It is interesting, however, that his fundamental principle still stands.

Malthus's Doctrine. "By the middle of the eighteenth century all of the elements of the so-called Malthusian Doctrine were in the literature of political economy and their acceptance was well-nigh universal," says Reuter. Of course "universal" must be understood here as applying to political economists, and not to the masses *who were not prepared to think*, nor the others *who would not think*. Strangely enough, in spite of this fact, it was Malthus, and not earlier writers on the subject, who captured the popular attention. He spoke at the psychological moment and drew the attack. The church thundered at him, pseudo-scientists refuted him, and the smaller fry vilified him.

It would seem almost like a waste of time to go into detail over the Malthusian theory of population were it not for the fact that, during the century and a quarter which has elapsed since the first appearance of that famous document, it has gone through such numerous printings and such continual discussion. Almost at once Malthus found himself the center of a heated controversy which has not yet abated. Books too numerous to mention have been written on various aspects of the problem, both attacking and defending his position. Periodical literature has been filled with it. Counter-propositions have been advanced. In short, the Malthusian theory cannot be dismissed on its own merits. The attention which has been paid to it forces it into the limelight.

What was the astounding statement which could attract so much and such continuous attention? Simply this. *Populations tend to increase faster than material sustenance can be increased and be made available for them.* It was the law of chronic want for, or scarcity of, material goods. It was merely a statement of a fairly regular tendency for populations to outgrow the food supply *unless checked*. This thesis was explained, expanded, and defended, and a wide range of facts were presented for its proof. Into such detail did Malthus go that his second essay has justly earned the title of "the book everybody talks about and no one reads."

His Three Main Propositions. Malthus took his stand on three propositions:

1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.

2. Population invariably increases where means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks.

3. These checks, and the checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.

Malthus recognized that "the first of these propositions scarcely needs illustration"; it is a self-evident fact. Since living implies subsistence, life is limited thereby. With regard to the second, he felt that he had made a very conservative statement by adding the latter portion. He felt that while there might be extreme cases where populations do not keep up to the level of the means of subsistence, they are so unusual as to have no effect on the general application of the law. It is the truth or falsity of this second statement which is the crux of the entire population problem. If it is true, the population problem will continue to be a very real issue. If it is false, we may with safety return to the optimism of Godwin and Condorcet. The third proposition is of negligible importance. We are interested, of course, in the checks to undue population increase, but these checks vary, as we shall see, with times and periods. We might easily accept Malthus' classification of restraints, but we would have to reinterpret them in terms of our own times. We find no difficulty in accepting his three propositions, but we do find some difficulty in accepting all that he said about them.

The Unfortunate Corollary. A corollary to these three propositions lay in the recognition of the tremendous reproductive powers of all forms of life. Plants bear seeds by the dozens, fish lay eggs by the thousands, animals bear their young in litters, and poor indeed would be the form of life which was prepared by nature to no more than double itself in a single generation. And yet Malthus asks us to consider what would happen if only this were to be the accomplishment of the human race. Given subsistence in sufficient amount, any normally healthy group could easily double its numbers with each generation; it could do more. Suppose families of a dozen were the prevailing size and there was no problem of food supply. Making liberal allowance for deaths, a group could quadruple in size in one generation. From this Malthus draws the conclusion that population increase is represented by a geometric ratio—that it increases by doubling. Noticing the difficulty with which the food supply is increased, he deduces the fact that subsistence increases by arithmetic ratio or by mere addition. The two are illustrated by the series 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, which is a geometric ratio or a process of doubling, and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, which is an arithmetic ratio or a process of addition.

Notice that the first process of doubling has brought the eight operations to a total of 256, while in the second process eight additions have resulted in the accumulation of only nine units.

Whether or not this corollary is true or contains truth, it is particularly unfortunate that Malthus made the statement, for this is the peg on which most of the opposition to his theory has been hung. It has been comparatively easy to cite cases without number in which the population has not even tended to increase according to a geometrical ratio, and in which the food supply has increased at very much more than an arithmetical ratio. America is the stock example. In spite of our tremendous population growth, the standard of living has certainly increased more rapidly. It makes no difference that Malthus said that, other things being equal, there was a *tendency* in this direction. Here we have a statement, and on this statement he has been universally attacked. If his opponent knows nothing else about the Malthusian theory of population, it is still enough. It is similar to the use which has been made of the monkey in refuting Darwin.

In the succeeding chapters we will consider various population situations as they actually exist, and finally attempt a restatement of the Malthusian theory in terms of the situation to-day.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What, in the main, was the population problem of primitive man?
2. In what respect does civilization change the problem?
3. Which practices have always been more in vogue, those aimed at increasing the population or those having decrease as their aim? Why?
4. List and compare the practices producing each.
5. Why are population programs and practices apt to be based on the short-time view?
6. What is the general attitude which we have inherited from our ancestors? Did it meet the needs of their time? Does it meet ours?

7. Explain and defend the Spartan point of view. Is there anything in their program which we might do well to adopt?
8. Is there any possible justification of infanticide? If not, what would you suggest as a substitute for accomplishing the same end?
9. Explain and evaluate the attitude of the early church toward the population problem. What is the attitude of the modern church? Evaluate.
10. Explain the hesitancy of the church to sanction the scientific consideration of the population problem.
11. What was the Malthusian position? Was it tenable? Do you think it has deserved all of the attention that has been given to it?
12. Restate Malthus' three points in terms which you think would be acceptable to-day.
13. Outline the arguments for a debate between Godwin and Malthus.
14. What is the official attitude of your church toward birth-control?
15. Discover evidences in the Old Testament of the attitude of the Hebrews toward the population problem.

CHAPTER 6

THE BIOLOGICAL ASPECT OF POPULATION INCREASE

MAN, NATURE'S REBEL

Man, one of the most slowly multiplying of all earth's creatures, has, nevertheless, increased with such astounding persistence that he alone has peopled the whole earth. Other forms of life can live only in such areas as naturally provide them with the requisite means of subsistence. They may increase only up to the limit of the naturally available food supply plus certain geographical limits set by range of temperature, humidity, and altitude. Beyond this, a ruthless struggle for existence in competition with their fellows and with representatives of other forms of life for the same food and space kills them off. They have no course other than that of effecting biological variation through evolution: the formation of a new and differing variety capable of existing outside the mother area and under a new set of conditions. But "man is nature's rebel." He alone has been able to defy her and to fit her for his purposes rather than to change himself to meet her whims. He has learned to consider himself the Lord of Creation because of this superiority and because of the ceaseless multiplication which has placed him in control of the whole earth and of all its forms of life. Even though races are represented by biological differences some of which have demonstrable survival values for certain climatic conditions, such as the pigmentation of the skin in the tropics, any race can adjust itself to life anywhere on the planet. Man can protect himself from the tropic sun or clothe and house himself to withstand the northern cold. If the proper sort of food be lacking, he will import and store it. Against enemies and pests he has provided protection. If a Panama Canal cannot be dug because of the ravages of yellow fever, he conquers the mosquito which bears the germ. Man storms Nature's barriers and presses ever forward.

INCREASE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

Natural selection and the struggle for existence is a far more terrible fact than we of the twentieth century are able to realize. In order that life should survive at all, it was necessary for Nature to provide each species with powers of multiplication concomitant with its death-rate. Carr-Saunders presents some interesting data in this field. "The number

of eggs found attached to the edible crab in the breeding season varies between half a million and three million." "A single pair of flies can produce 20,000 larvae." "The least prolific of the British fish is the herring, in which the number of ovarian eggs varied from 21,000 to 47,000 in four specimens examined." "If all the progeny of one oyster survived and multiplied, its great-great-grandchildren would number thirty-six with thirty-three noughts after it, and the heap of shells would be eight times the size of the world." "Huxley calculated that if all of the descendants of a single green-fly survived and multiplied they would, at the end of the summer, weigh down the population of China."

Not Waste but Insurance. Why is it that nature has made it possible for every species, according to Darwin, to increase at such a rate "that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of a single pair." We speak of Nature's prodigality and wastefulness. But this is not mere waste, it is insurance. Conditions of life, for the lower animals, are such that the maturing and survival of the young depend upon a favorable combination of environmental accidents. Given a favorable medium in which to hatch, favorable humidity and temperature, and protection from enemies, the egg may hatch. Once it is hatched, more accidental combinations determine continued survival, maturation, and further reproduction. Nature can only guarantee continuity through a most prodigious reproductiveness. The higher the form of life and the greater the amount of protection which can be guaranteed by the parents, the lower the birth-rate can afford to be, and the lower it actually is. Each species, then, has a birth-rate which, if unhindered, would swamp the earth, but which actually no more than insures the perpetuation of the species without any very marked increase except as the balance in a territory is disturbed. This balance is, however, maintained only by an utterly ruthless natural selection and struggle for existence.

The Persistency of Human Increase. What about the human animal? Few forms of life breed more slowly, and yet none has spread more persistently. In none has the survival rate been so large. The offspring of a single pair, unhindered, might also cover the face of the earth in a comparatively short time. Granted that there was need of this potential fecundity in the case of our primitive ancestors, is there still need of it in this day of highly assured survival? The answer is that this potential fecundity, which once was our survival guarantee, is now the root of this most pressing social problem. It is impossible to think of an infinite population in a finite world, and there is the distinct possibility of swamping civilization with numbers. Man has succeeded in domesticating many

plants and animals. He feeds them the proper foods and surrounds them with such measures of protection as will guarantee the maximum amount of multiplication and survival. Nature does not produce such crops as are found in our Western wheat fields. The animal packs of the forest have no such survival rate as the herds of our barns and pastures. But man is not interested in their survival for further reproduction, but for immediate consumption. Of the wheat grown, but a very small fraction is saved for seed. Of the sheep and cows and swine raised on our farms, the major portion find their way to our stock-yards. Were this not so, but a few generations of domestication would produce a most serious plant and animal overpopulation. Man is in a similar position. *He is a self-domesticated animal*. He has arranged for himself far more and much better protections than he has afforded the animals he has domesticated. But to what end? Merely that of survival! He is an end in and of himself! He is not weeded out as are food-plants and animals. Every child born is surrounded with every possible life assurance for the sole purpose of being brought to physical maturity and in turn becoming a breeder himself.

Limited Increase of Populations at a Given Rate. Gregory King estimated, as has already been noted,¹ that the population of the British Isles was 5,500,000 when he wrote at the end of the seventeenth century (1690). On the basis of his knowledge and the best statistical method then available, he came to the conclusion that the year 3600 might see in these islands a population of twenty-two million. This amounted to two doublings in nineteen centuries. His estimate, as we have seen, fell far short of the mark, for in the following 225 years the population doubled thrice. With a more highly developed technique and with a far greater mass of data to deal with, we should be able to prognosticate future populations with greater accuracy. We are in popular danger, however, of as great a mistake as he made, though in the opposite direction. What is more natural than to say, offhand, "the population of the British Isles has doubled three times in two and a quarter centuries and the population of the United States is increasing at a rate which would double it every sixty years. Therefore, one doubling per century represents a conservative estimate of what is both possible and to be expected." But if one figures on that basis, he will be surprised to discover that in the nineteen centuries which King thought would be required to produce a population of twenty-two million, we by our method would prognosticate a population which would have to be measured in billions. And the results thus obtained are no less absurd than King's. Populations do not continue indefinitely to increase

¹ Wright, H., *Population*, pp. 12 ff.

at a given rate. The rate at which they are biologically capable of increasing has comparatively little to do with the actual rate experienced. Among animals the birth-rate is usually at the maximum and the death-rate is as high as necessary. Among men, however, the birth-rate is seldom as high as it can be and the death-rate is as low as human ingenuity can make it. Among animals, individuals are born and are weeded out. Among men the tendency is for the weeding-out process to take place before birth.

THREE IMPORTANT POPULATION TENDENCIES

Since Malthus wrote, three important tendencies have been observed which were not, to an equal extent, operating in his day. They are the phenomenal decrease in the birth-rate in most civilized countries, the even more marked decrease in the death-rate, and the very rapid increase in populations despite the smaller number of children born per parent. The first has given rise to fears of race suicide, fears of national degeneration, and much solemn warning. The second we have hailed as an evidence of advancing civilization. The third has stirred pride, spurred patriotism, and conferred a sense of security, but seldom has lulled our fear of the evil results of a decreasing birth-rate. In the popular mind they are apt to be treated as separate facts rather than as an $A-B=C$ proposition. Let us examine these three tendencies, placing special emphasis on the nineteenth century, and see what has been happening.

Rates and Ratios. A century ago the population problem looked serious indeed to Malthus and his followers because they could see only misery in store for populations which were bound to grow rapidly and which would be checked in the main by famine, disease, and disaster. They recognized the so-called preventive checks, but could not foresee the extent to which self-limitation would be practiced by societies. Indeed, so far has this process of self-limitation gone that there is now more *popular* fear of race suicide than of overpopulation.

There are various methods of giving numerical expression to birth values in relation to a general population. We may be interested to know that in the United States in 1921 there was in the Birth Registration Area a total population of 70,425,705 and that 1,714,261 births were recorded in that area for that year. To express it differently, the births amounted to 2.43 per cent of the population, or there were 24.3 births for each thousand of the population. This last figure is what is commonly called a birth-rate. Vital rates of this sort, for convenience, are usually expressed as per-thousand rather than as per-hundred ratios. Since populations vary in their composition, having either larger or smaller proportions who are

male or female, young, middle-aged, or old, we are also interested in knowing the relationship existing between the number of births and the number of women of child-bearing age or between the number of births and the number of married women. We are also interested in comparing white, colored, and foreign-born, and urban and rural rates. For instance, in the year 1921, with a general crude birth-rate of 24.3, we find that the general white birth-rate was 24.0 and the general colored birth-rate was 27.9. In cities, it was 24.0; and in rural areas, 24.7. But for married women between the ages of fifteen and forty-four we find the same rate expressing itself in very much larger terms. They are as follows: white married women, 171.2; native white, 169.5; foreign white, 177.4; negro, 152.3; other colored, 271.4.

Another numerical expression which is of value is that of the average number of children per family. For instance, we find that in 1921 the average number of children born to American mothers was 3.3 and that 2.9 were still living, and that for native-born mothers it was 4.0, but that native-born mothers lost .3 children and foreign-born mothers lost .6.

These are interesting facts as they stand, but the sociologist is interested in knowing not only what is the present status but what is happening over a period of years as well: what the trend is.

The Norm. We may well start by asking what a normal birth-rate is, what birth-rates will result in population increase and what ones in population decrease, and how much the increase or decrease will be. Of course this question can only be answered in terms of the death-rate. The mere birth-rate is not so important as the survival rate. Again the problem has been complicated in the United States by immigration, a source of population increase independent of the local fecundity. For instance, France under present conditions is able to maintain a fairly static population with a birth-rate usually fluctuating between 19 and 20. China on the other hand, with a birth-rate no one knows how high, but certainly close to the maximum, is also just holding her own. Neither population is very much affected by either emigration or immigration. In 1925 France's birth-rate was 19.6, but her death-rate the same year was 18.0, leaving an excess birth-rate of 1.6 or a rate of increase of but .16 per cent for that year. In the same year the United States showed a birth-rate of 21.4 and a death-rate of 11.8 or an excess birth-rate of 9.6, an increase of almost 1 per cent for that year from this source alone; and to this must be added the increase due to immigration. It is clear, then, that we cannot say that a birth-rate of 20 or 30 or 40 is high or low. All depends on the stage of culture, success in saving lives, the volume of either emigration or im-

migration, and the average duration of life. We may say at least that a population will remain stationary if every individual born at least replaces himself during his lifetime. A thousand individuals must produce a thousand new individuals to take their places. Roughly placing the average duration of life at fifty years (it is actually more in the United States at the present time), we see that 1,000 replacements distributed over fifty years will necessitate a yearly replacement of twenty. This estimate is more suggestive than scientific, but does indicate that a birth-rate of approximately 20, where the average duration of life is fifty years, would be just sufficient to maintain the status quo.

The Trend of the Birth-Rate. Let us turn now to the history of the birth-rate and see what has been happening. Unfortunately, up to a fairly recent date most countries have not considered the official recording of births of sufficient importance to take the trouble. In some European countries we have fairly accurate parish records. In Sweden we have records going back to 1750. Massachusetts has the longest American record. Even yet the registration of births is a matter which is entirely in the hands of the states, and not all states have qualified for admission into the recognized Birth Registration Area.

Said Ross in 1912, "Nevertheless, the clouds that hung low about the future are breaking. The terrible Malthus failed to anticipate certain influences which in some places have already so far checked multiplication as to ameliorate the lot of even the lower and broader social layers. The sagging of the national birth-rate made its first appearance about fifty years ago in France (1860), thereby giving the other peoples a chance to thank God they were not as these decadent French. But the thing has become so general that to-day no people dares to point the finger of scorn. In 1878, after the notorious trial of the 'Neo-Malthusians,' Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant, for circulating 'The Fruits of Philosophy,' the fall of the birth-rate began in England. During the eighties, it invaded Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. In 1889 it seized with great virulence upon Australia, again as a sequel to a law case. Just before the close of the century Finland, Italy and Hungary fell into line. In Germany and Austria it is only within four or five years (about 1905), that the economists have begun to discuss 'our diminishing fecundity.' In all Christendom, only Russia, the Balkan states and French Canada show the old-fashioned birth-rates of forty, fifty or even fifty-five per thousand."²

The process is illustrated by the figures contained in the following table:

² Ross, E. A., *Changing America*, pp. 33-34.

TABLE 3

THE BIRTH-RATE TREND IN EUROPE *

(Number of births per thousand of the population annually)

Country	Year	10	20	30	40	50	Race
England and Wales.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	35.5 23.6
Scotland.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	35.0 25.4
Ireland.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	27.4 22.7
France.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	25.5 18.5
Germany.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	38.9 27.5 **
Austria.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	39.3 30.0 **
Hungary.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	42.8 34.0 **
Italy.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	36.9 31.4
Norway.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	30.2 25.2
Sweden.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	30.7 23.1
Russia.....	{ 1871-76 1906-10	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	50.3 45.5 **
Spain.....	{ 1881-85 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	36.7 30.8
Belgium.....	{ 1871-76 1906-10	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	32.6 24.7
Holland.....	{ 1871-76 1911-15	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	36.1 27.7

* Adapted from table in East, E. M., *Mankind at the Crossroads*, New York, 1923, p. 267.

** Approximate.

From Table 3 we see that in every case there is a marked decrease in the birth-rate. The percentages of decrease are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

<i>Country</i>	<i>Percentage of decrease</i>
England and Wales	33.5%
Scotland	27.4%
Ireland	17.1%
France	27.4%
Germany	29.3%
Austria	23.7%
Hungary	20.5%
Italy	14.9%
Norway	16.5%
Sweden	24.7%
Russia	9.5%
Spain	16.0%
Belgium	24.2%
Holland	23.3%

It is significant in Table 4 to note that one country has a birth-rate decline of more than 30 per cent, eight fall between 20 per cent and 30 per cent, four fall between 10 per cent and 20 per cent, and only one shows a decline of less than 10 per cent. With the exception of Russia, Spain, and Belgium, the period during which this remarkable decline took place was but 40 years. In the three countries mentioned it was five or ten years less.

In the United States the tendency is even more marked. In 1800, for instance, there were 976 children for each 1,000 women of child-bearing age (sixteen to forty-four years), while in 1920 there were but 467, or less than half as many. It is no wonder that the race-suicide alarmists are perturbed. If this rate continues, it is easy to prognosticate a time in the not far distant future when there will be no children at all. This, however, would be as absurd a conclusion as the forecasts already mentioned of a world population of many billions in the near future on the basis of the probable continuance of the present rate of population increase. *Birth-rates have the habit of adjusting themselves to death-rates and living conditions.* The birth-rate has not declined because of physical degeneracy but in response to social needs. There is a tendency for modern societies to produce no more babies than are needed. The birth of a child represents a distinct expenditure of both money and vitality. The bearing and rearing of children has its economic and its social costs, and no national deficit is so great as that caused by over-breeding and a concomitant high

infant mortality rate. It is useless to burden the reader with endless statistics. Suffice it to say that the birth-rates of 50 and even more which were in evidence a century ago have been cut in half, and that those countries which are enjoying economic prosperity and showing evidences of social progress now have birth-rates in the 20's. Still their populations continue to increase at a rate which gives some cause for alarm. This is due to the progress of medical science, which is lengthening the span of life and preventing unnecessary deaths.

Where life is precarious, nature offsets high death-rates by means of high birth-rates. Usually, though not always, birth-rates and death-rates vary in direct ratio. Where the death-rate is high, the birth-rate is apt to be high, and *vice versa*. In newly opened countries or communities enjoying rapid expansion, this need not be the case. We may have the phenomenon of a high birth-rate and a comparatively low death-rate, but this is due to possibilities of rapid population expansion. As soon as life becomes standardized, it is impossible to have any very wide discrepancy between the two. Other things being equal, the lower the stage of civilization and the degree of the advancement of the arts, the higher the death-rate will be found to be. Civilization and scientific progress bring with them more effective insurance against both natural calamities and the ills that flesh is heir to. Thus it is natural to expect a fairly regular decrease in the death-rate and an increase in the average duration of life. Unfortunately, however, we cannot forecast a decrease in the death-rate and increase in the average length of life indefinitely continued at the present rate of change. The study of the population problem must take into consideration not only a finite world but a mortal man as well.

The Trend of the Death-Rate. No less astonishing than the movement of the birth-rate has been the history of that of the death-rate. As we have already seen, natural selection among the lower plants and animals requires an enormous mortality. In stationary populations it is naturally as high as the birth-rate. Among primitive peoples struggling for a precarious existence it is appalling. Among peoples like the Chinese where population pressure has pushed the standard of living down to the mere subsistence level, births and deaths must strike a balance. Many estimates have been made as to the probable magnitude of these two rates in China, but the fact remains that at best they are guesses and no one knows. Certain it is, however, that the birth-rate of this people is very close to the maximum and the mortality rate is as high. Under conditions of this sort life is cheap. Life is thoughtlessly called into existence and thoughtlessly allowed to pass out of existence. The death of an infant is not an

unusual calamity; it is an unusual piece of good fortune if the infant survives.

Since birth-rates of 50 and more are not unusual, we can take for granted death-rates which are as high. Reuter estimates that the present average death-rate of the world is "probably well above 25." For advanced peoples it is well below this mark, and for retarded ones it is above. In 1870 the death-rates in seven European countries ranged from a minimum of 22.4 to a maximum of 35.9. Three of these countries had rates which were below 30 and four were above. In 1910, forty years later, the rates in these same countries ranged from a minimum of 14.9 to a maximum of 24.7; three were from 13 to 19, and four were more than 20.

TABLE 5

DEATH-RATES BY DECADES IN SEVEN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES *
(Number of deaths per thousand of the population per year)

Country	1870	1880	Year			Per cent of decrease
			1890	1900	1910	
United Kingdom	22.4	20.0	18.9	17.6	14.9	31.0%
Germany	27.2	25.8	23.9	20.8	17.4	36.0%
France	24.4	22.4	22.2	20.7	19.1	21.7%
Austria	31.9	30.7	28.5	24.8	22.2	30.4%
Hungary	35.9	32.4	32.8	26.9	24.7	31.2%
Spain	30.9	30.6	31.6	27.9	23.9	22.6%
Italy	30.2	28.7	26.5	22.6	21.1	30.1%

* Adapted from table in Reuter, E. B., *Population Problems*, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 146.

These figures represent a tremendous saving and prolongation of life during the forty years represented. We must remember, too, that saving lives is as effective a method of increasing the population as bringing new lives into existence. The decreasing birth-rate experienced during the past century would have astounded Malthus, but it need cause us no worry so long as the death-rate is also decreasing. As Ross so aptly puts it, "The new mortality is more contagious than the new fecundity." In the United States the "good old families" of a dozen or more children no longer abound. A family of sixteen once would have scarcely caused comment. To-day it is worthy of a newspaper "story" and causes high executives to write letters of commendation. But populous family lots in graveyards are also a thing of the past. The Census of 1920 gave the death-rate as 13.0, and even the year of the influenza epidemic boosted it to only 18.0. Unfortunately the United States is particularly lacking in

dependable vitality statistics for earlier years. Data for Massachusetts, however, show a remarkable fluctuation of the death-rate from 1850 to 1890, ranging between 17 and 23. In 1892 a new peak was reached (nearly 21), but from that year on, except for minor deviations and the year of the "flu," the drop has been precipitous; in 1923 the death-rate stood at 13.0. For the country at large the drop during thirteen years, from 1910 to 1923, was 2.7 points or from 15.0 to 12.3. A study of the Swedish data extending back to 1749 shows a remarkable amount of fluctuation, but a gradual decrease, up to 1880. During the seventy-two-year period, 1749 to 1820 inclusive, there are no death-rates of less than 20; 83 per cent of the years show rates between 20 and 30, and 17 per cent are over 30, with one extreme case of 52. In the following 100 years, 1820 to 1920, we find sixty-three cases, or 63 per cent of the years showing death-rates of 13 to 19, and the remaining 27 per cent in the 20's. For the first period, 1749 to 1820, 52 is the maximum rate and 21.7 is the minimum. During the second period (1820 to 1920), the maximum rate recorded is 28.9 and the minimum is 13.3. Since 1875 Sweden has not reached the 20-mark in her death-rate record.

Thus, the world over, unnecessary death is being conquered and normal death postponed. How much further can it go? Since the century-mark has been shown by human history to be a very exceptional attainment, we cannot very well expect it as an average duration of normal life. At the present time our average duration of life in the United States is fifty-eight years. Professor Irving Fisher estimates that by 1930 it will be sixty-one; in 1940, sixty-five; in 1950, sixty-nine; in 1960, seventy-two; in 1970, seventy-five; in 1880, seventy-eight; in 1990, eighty; in the year 2000, eighty-two; and by 2100, everyone should live to be ninety years old. These figures may seem fanciful to us, and yet they represent a strictly scientific guess by a man who is thoroughly familiar with his field. They indicate to us that for another century or more we can expect the continued reduction of the death-rate and hence need not worry about the decline of the birth-rate.

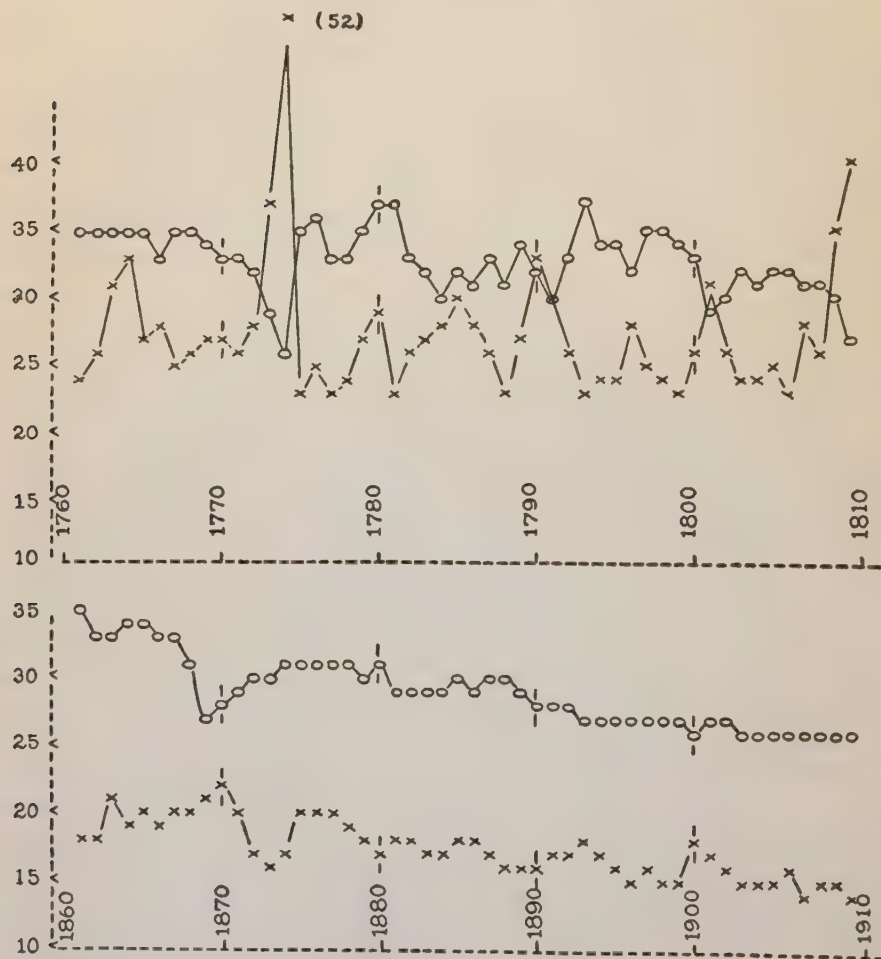
The Trend of the "Differential" or the Excess Rate. The third tendency which we must examine is represented by what we may call the excess rate. This is merely the difference between the birth-rate and the death-rate. Usually the birth-rate is higher than the death-rate, but in case it is smaller, the excess rate is represented by a minus quantity. Another method used is that of the vital index. This is merely a statement of what percentage all births are of all deaths (births multiplied by 100 divided by deaths). Here a resulting number larger than 100 indicates an increasing

population, while a number less than 100 represents a decreasing population.

We have noticed that both the birth-rate and the death-rate have been declining, but what of the distance between them? It is this element in

FIGURE 9

A COMPARISON OF THE BIRTH-RATE (o) AND DEATH-RATE (x) TRENDS IN SWEDEN DURING TWO PERIODS ONE CENTURY APART:
1760-1810 AND 1860-1910



which we are primarily interested, for it indicates what is really happening to the population. In Sweden since 1749 excess rates have ranged all the way from -26.9 to $+17.2$. To be sure, only five times in the 172 years of the period covered has the balance showed an actual deficit. It would be nearer the truth to say that the excess rate has varied between 0 and 17.2. In the earlier years of the period, the fluctuation of this rate was violent, but after 1870 it remains quite steady, fluctuating between 10 and 13. Before 1870 the excess rate seems to be increasing. After 1870 the movement is very gradually in the other direction.

Figure 9 visualizes the process in Sweden and illustrates what is happening elsewhere in the world. The first graph on Figure 9 shows violently fluctuating birth-rates and death-rates and a precarious differential or excess rate between them. This is typical of the eighteenth and preceding centuries. The second graph on Figure 9 illustrates the stabilization of these rates which has come with nineteenth-century progress and prosperity.

Another tendency is observable in Figure 9 and the same would be true for most countries during the nineteenth century. Not only are the birth-rates and the death-rates declining, but the distance between them is lessening. This means that while we have a very healthy rate of increase, our populations are increasing at a decreasing rate. This is as it should be, for we have already seen what would happen if our population were to continue indefinitely increasing at a constant rate.

Table 6 illustrates what is happening in the United States, and is roughly visualized by Figure 10.

TABLE 6

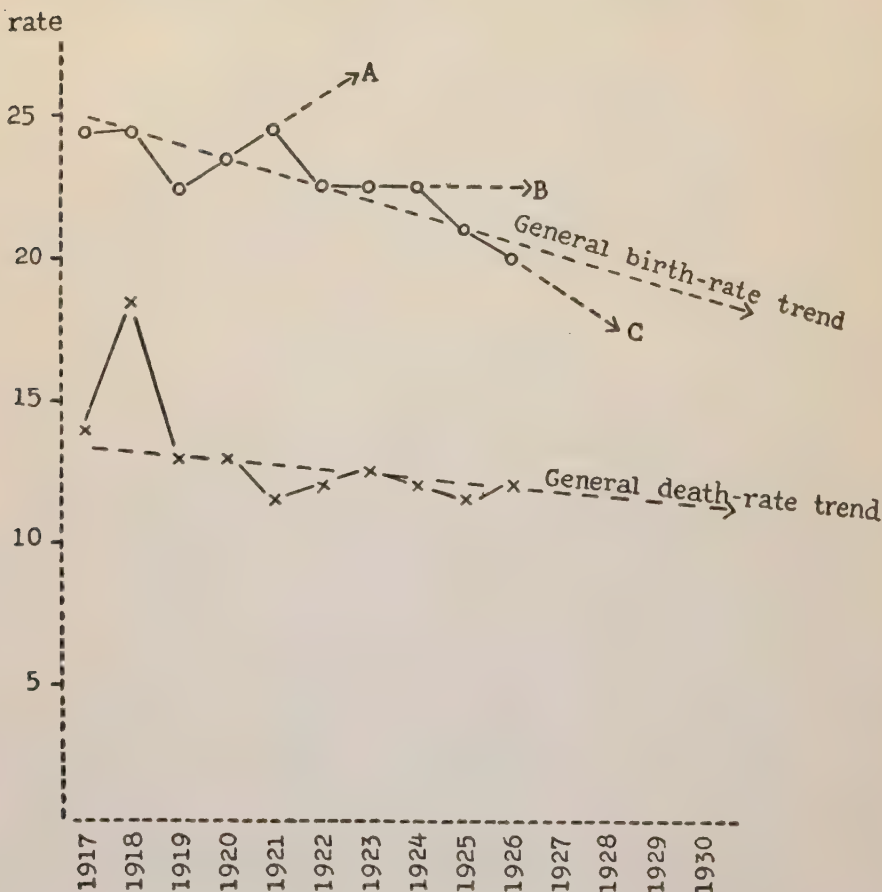
<i>Year</i>	<i>Birth-rate</i>	<i>Death-rate</i>	<i>Excess rate</i>
1926	20.1	12.1	8.0
1925	21.1	11.7	9.4
1924	22.6	11.8	10.8
1923	22.4	12.3	10.1
1922	22.5	11.8	10.7
1921	24.3	11.7	12.6
1920	23.7	13.1	10.6
1919	22.3	13.0	9.3
1918	24.6	18.3	6.3
1917	24.7	14.2	10.5

It will be noted from Figure 10 that, while there is still considerable fluctuation between years, the general trend of both rates is downward.

The birth-rate trend, however, seems to be decreasing at a more rapid rate than the death-rate trend. How soon will they meet? To attempt to answer this question is extremely risky because of the many unforeseen factors that are capable of entering and violently disturbing the present

FIGURE 10

BIRTH-RATE AND DEATH-RATE TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES



trends. The United States has had worth-while vital statistics only since 1915, and it would require a much longer time than that to arrive at any tenable conclusions. If we had taken the years 1919, 1920, and 1921, for example, we might have prognosticated trend A, which would have indicated a phenomenal increase in the birth-rate and an increasing excess

rate. Had we taken the years 1922, 1923, and 1924, we would have been able to demonstrate (trend B) that the birth-rate was remaining level while the death-rate showed a tendency to decrease. Recently a learned doctor demonstrated, on the basis of the years 1924, 1925, and 1926 (trend C) that the birth-rate was decreasing so rapidly that before 1930 the two rates would meet and there would be no genetic surplus remaining. Manifestly we are justified in comparing only general trends over as large a number of years as possible. The best conclusion we are able to reach at the present time is that both birth-rates and death-rates are decreasing; that the former are decreasing more rapidly than the latter; that, consequently, the excess rate is decreasing; but that there is still a healthy distance between the two. If an excess rate of 10 seems small, it need only be remembered that such a rate means an increase of 1 per cent per year, or a doubling in a century.

Of course, while nations may increase in numbers, due to immigration or lose due to emigration, the population of the world or of a given race can increase only by an excess of births over deaths. East has estimated the rates of increase of the various races of the world as indicated in Table 7. It is important to note that in his estimate he has placed the increase of the white race at the *minimum* and that of the colored races at the *maximum*.

TABLE 7

<i>Race</i>	<i>Excess-rate</i>	<i>Number of years to double</i>
White, European origin	12.0	58
White, non-European	8.0	87
Brown	2.5	278
Yellow	3.0	232
Black	5.0	139

Race suicide? The only conclusion from our study is that the only suicide in sight is from the possible continuation of the present rate of increase. And "Yellow Peril"? We are increasing, according to Professor East's far too conservative estimate, four times as rapidly as they. On the other side of the Pacific *they* talk of a "White Peril," and with reason.

In conclusion let us call attention to Dr. Dublin's warning that there is a vast amount of difference between crude rates and those which have been corrected for age composition. For example, it was once demonstrated that the death-rate among soldiers taking part in the Spanish-American war was lower than that obtaining in New York City; hence

the conclusion that it was healthier to go to war than to live in our great American metropolis. But the soldiers were young men in the prime of life chosen because of their health and vigor, while New York included all, the young and the old, the ailing and the robust. No legitimate comparison could be drawn unless we adjusted the rates or compared the soldiers with similar individuals in the city. On this basis Dr. Dublin has evaluated our present rates and finds the real or adjusted birth-rate to be lower than would appear and the adjusted death-rate to be higher. This means that the actual distance between the two, or the excess rate, is smaller than we have thought. This is a warning not to over-interpret the present census figures. But there is still a healthy margin of safety between the two rates and it is a far cry to race suicide.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why has nature provided for such a tremendous rate of increase in the plant and animal worlds? Has this not resulted in a needless volume of destruction of life?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages among human beings of a potential rate of increase far in excess of that which can survive?
3. Why have slower-breeding human beings shown greater persistency in survival than the more rapidly breeding lower animals?
4. What is the effect of domestication on animals? with regard to the survival of numbers? with regard to physical quality?
5. Has self-domestication had the same effect on man?
6. What is happening to the birth-rates and death-rates of the world?
7. How do you account for the rapid decline in the American birth-rate?
8. Show that a declining birth-rate represents a definite social economy.
9. Are we in any actual danger of overpopulation? race suicide? a "Yellow Peril"?
10. How do you account for the fact that, with all of our progress in medical science, the birth-rate tends to decrease more rapidly than the death-rate?
11. Go to the United States Census and get the birth-rates and death-rates for as many years as possible. Plot them in the form of a graph and estimate, from their general trends, the approximate rates which will obtain in 1950.
12. Plot a graph showing the increase in the general population of the United States during the past century. Reduce the actual numbers to percentages of increase and plot them. What can you deduce from the character of the curves?

CHAPTER 7

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE POPULATION PROBLEM

A clever analogy has been drawn between a shrinking world and an increasing population. During the past century the population of the world has doubled. Suppose that the tables had been turned and that the world were capable of decreasing in size at the same rate and ratio. It makes no difference whether we double the population (the number of consumers) or bisect the amount of the food-producing area; the results are the same. It is evident under such conditions that it would be necessary to use what remained more effectively. This is exactly the problem which faces us to-day.

SMALL NUMBER OF UNEXPLOITED FOOD-PRODUCING AREAS

The new lands which were available at the beginning of the nineteenth century are nearly exhausted. The populations of the world have flooded into the supermarginal areas and only those which are at or near the margin remain. It is easy enough to estimate the area of our own unused Western plains, and the vast interiors of South America, Africa, Australia, and Asia. To be sure, we can find plenty of mere area, but we may be equally sure that if the areas have been left they are no Gardens of Eden. If they had been, they would be populated at the present time. I do not mean to indicate that no more land remains, but that the remaining land suffers certain handicaps due to which it has not yet been brought into use. It is less productive and nearer the margin, and therefore less desirable. It can be made to produce and much of it will be brought into use, but only at greater cost and hence with decreased profits.

LAND SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, with an area of 1,903 million acres, it has been estimated that 879 million or 46 per cent is in farms, but that of this amount only 478 million acres or 54 per cent is improved, that is, in crops, fallow, or used for farmstead or pasture. The remaining 401 million acres is unimproved and probably handicapped land. In other words, but 25 per cent of the land area of the United States is under improved cultivation. Recently two noted leaders of radical movements deplored

this condition. Here, they held, we have land in plenty which is denied productivity. Consequently food is scarce, prices are high, poverty is rampant, and we are compelled to deny admittance to the worthy poor of Europe who could so easily be fed. One blamed the capitalistic régime and the other our present system of taxation. Neither seemed remotely interested in any of the scientific data available. They argued from the standpoint of area alone. Estimates by the Department of Agriculture, however, are sobering.¹ These figures are on the basis of the Census of 1910 and furnish us with as reliably scientific and non-hysterical data as can be obtained. The conclusion is that, to the present 478 million acres in improved farms, another 322 million acres can be added, making a total of 800 million acres, or 42 per cent of our total land area. This will be accomplished by adding thirty million acres of irrigable desert, sixty million acres of drainable swamp, eighty-two million acres by the development of dry farming, and 150 million acres of reclaimable forest. Of the remaining 58 per cent or 1,103 million acres, eighty million acres will have to be reserved for cities; 360 million acres, for forest and woodland; 425 million acres will continue to be useful only for range and pasture; while 238 million acres is irreclaimable for any purpose and will continue to be.

TABLE 8

THE PRESENT AND PROBABLE FUTURE USE OF LAND IN THE UNITED STATES *
Showing the increased amount used for improved farms, cities, and roads, and the decreased amount in forest and woodland, range, pasture, and desert.

Improved farms	{	xxxxxxxxxxxxx.....Present	(25%)
		xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. Future	(42%)
Forest and woodland	{	xxxxxxxxxxxxxx.....Present	(31%)
		xxxxxxxxxx... ..Future	(20%)
Range, pasture and desert..	{	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. Present	(42%)
		xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx.....Future	(34%)
Cities and roads	{	x.....Present	(2%)
		xx.....Future	(4%)

* Adapted from Baker and Strong, *Year Book* (1918), United States Department of Agriculture, Washington.

INCREASE IN AREA AND INCREASE IN POPULATION

From the above estimates it is seen that we cannot even double our present agricultural food-bearing area; we can increase it by but 68 per cent. Increasing it by this amount, however, does not mean that we can

¹ See Baker, O. E., and Strong, H. W., *Year Book* (1918), United States Department of Agriculture, Washington.

look forward to increasing the population by 68 per cent, for the additional land we have brought into use is land which we have brought from below the margin of cultivation at great cost. It is less productive and will support a smaller number of people than the older supermarginal land which was the first to be brought into use. East estimates² that, if we roughly consider the new land which is to be brought into use to be only half as good as that which is now under cultivation, "on a productivity basis, just about 35% can be added to our present holdings." In other words, not taking into consideration future improvements in agricultural methods, *on the basis of the present advancement of the art*, we may look forward to the possibility of increasing our population by that amount through the use of new lands alone.

How does this estimate compare with the "classic" which appeared in a New York newspaper in 1921 to the effect that Texas alone, if intensively cultivated, "could feed every person on the planet." After long residence in China, the writer is inclined to believe that if we adopted China's standard of living, Texas, plus the rest of the United States, could nearly do it, but at what an "animal" level of existence! At what cost to civilization!

This is the situation in the most favorably situated country on the face of the globe. In Europe there is little expansion area available. In Asia more intensive cultivation, if that be possible, and the utilization of her sparsely populated areas will be hardly sufficient to raise the standard of living of her already teeming millions to a human level. The interior of Australia is largely arid. The major portion of South America is tropical. For Africa we cannot prognosticate the future. It is sufficient to conclude that the world's possible increase of agricultural area is very strictly limited. Supposing that it could even be doubled, and this is a wild conjecture, what does that mean to a world population which is capable of doubling in a single century? The problem is serious.

THE PROBLEM OF PRESERVING SOIL FERTILITY

But our population problem does not rest here. The soil itself, once it is brought into use, is not a static possession. While it may remain useful for standing-room to the end of time, it does not remain useful for the production of crops. Its value changes with use. We mine its fertility as we mine our mineral deposits, but with this difference: The fertility of the soil can be restored, while the riches of our mines, once extracted, cannot be replaced. So long as our country was sparsely popu-

² East, E. M., *Mankind at the Crossroads*, New York, 1923, p. 156.

lated and there was free land for all for the taking, we thought little of allowing individual families to operate farms of thousands of acres by the most wasteful methods. These farms produced bumper crops, but we have already seen their virgin fertility disappear. It was mined—squandered because a young and optimistic people refused to consider the future. Now, while we can possibly support an additional forty or even fifty million people by bringing into use certain lands which are now neglected, we cannot support more—no, we cannot even maintain those we now have—except by the most strenuous efforts. It is not merely a matter of continuing to use the same old land in the same old way and consequently supporting the same population in the same way. Even to do this we must invent means of maintaining the fertility of the soil which is extracted by every crop that is grown. Even to maintain the status quo, to say nothing of supporting a larger population at a higher standard of living, we must exert ourselves tremendously. The nineteenth century for the Western world was a mad holiday of spending; the twentieth century is already beginning to count up the costs. The virgin fertility of the soils of the Old World long ago disappeared. By the most strenuous efforts and by methods most repulsive to our Western tastes, it has, year by year, been restored. Many of these older countries have for centuries been overpopulated and gaunt from starvation. Unless we succeed in maintaining fertility and continue to accelerate production, we are faced with one or both of two alternatives; a decreased population or a diminished standard of living.

INEVITABILITY OF DIMINISHING RETURNS

The law of diminishing returns means that ultimately the output per man will decrease as increasing “doses” of capital and labor are applied. This also means that the share of each man for individual consumption will ultimately decrease if, in the addition of increasing “doses” of capital and labor, we go beyond the point of diminishing returns. The United States has not yet reached this point, but thoughtful economists are beginning to wonder “how long.” European countries are already feeling the pressure. In Asia this situation has arrived, and with it population at the saturation point and the minimum standard of living. In spite of all our modern machines and mechanical power, man works continually harder for what he gets.

There is little question that the world will be able to maintain the fertility of its soil. It is doubtful if it will be necessary to resort to certain most distasteful Oriental methods to do it. The newspapers tell of a cor-

after a certain point is reached

poration which has spent \$4,500,000 in experimental work and now promises us commercial nitrogen to be produced from the air "on a grand scale." At present, our commercial nitrogen is literally mined from certain nitrogen-bearing deposits mainly located in Germany and South America. Other commercial fertilizers are produced as by-products at our great Middle Western meat-packing plants. The Chinese press the by-product of the bean into bean-cakes and the Japanese produce fertilizer in connection with their vast fishing industry.

THE PROSPECTS OF INTENSIVE CULTIVATION

While we can undoubtedly maintain the fertility of our soil, it is a question how far we can go in increasing the productivity of already fertile land. Last summer the writer saw in New England mile upon mile of tobacco fields all growing under canopies. He saw truck gardens of but ten to twenty acres so intensively cultivated and so carefully fertilized that their operators were making more money than the Western farmer on his 160 acres. It is not difficult to imagine all land as intensively cultivated as this. In the province of Chihli in North China the writer found families existing—but merely existing—on the product of a single acre of land. But this too is a process which is subject to the law of diminishing returns. It cannot be continued endlessly.

PRODUCTION IN AMERICA AND IN EUROPE COMPARED

At the present time, the product per acre of most of our crops is below that of European countries. For the period 1915-19 we produced 14.8 bushels of wheat to the acre, and the United Kingdom produced 31.8. We held the record for corn. We produced 92.7 bushels of potatoes per acre and the United Kingdom produced 218.9. As for beans, the ratio stood at 10.1 to 27.8, and again the ratio was in favor of the United Kingdom. During the past century, our own agricultural production, due to improved agricultural methods, has undoubtedly increased. East feels that it may have increased 50 per cent in half a century. There is no reason to fear that we cannot reach the European standard of production. This will require less than a doubling of our present rate. It can undoubtedly be done. But the persistent question is, how long can we keep producing at a substantially increasing ratio? The writer has not the temerity to suggest how far we can go in this direction. The question is enough; it signifies that, sooner or later, the point of diminishing returns is bound to be reached; that populations cannot go on endlessly expanding at a constant rate for the simple reason that the production of food cannot do so.

THE STANDARDIZATION OF FOOD PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

Another contingency presents itself. Increased population and the more efficient use of land for food production carries with it the gradual elimination of lands used for grazing and the limitation of crops to those few standard ones which are the most prolific and provide the most calories. If we are to continue feeding increasing numbers of people, we will have to discontinue feeding appetites and content ourselves with satisfying hunger. This is what "Mr. Zero" is doing for starving men in New York City. He does not pretend to cater to men who are hungry for pie. His men come because they need the basin of soup, black coffee, and dry bread which he dispenses for five cents per individual. The writer has tried the meal. It was wholesome and clean, but he concluded that it was suitable only for a very hungry man. The diet of North China again illustrates the point. In the main, millet and a few other grains, beans, cabbage, sweet potatoes, onions, and melons are the staple products, and form 95 per cent of the diet of 95 per cent of the people. Meat is a rare luxury and is confined to the flesh of scavenging animals such as pigs and chickens, and that of beasts of burden when they become too old to work. From peanuts and sesame are derived the oils which are sparingly used in cooking. There is little variety in the diet of the North China farmer. He eats to live, and has discovered those crops which provide him with the maximum of bulk and nourishment; and he sticks to them. In no other way can a family of five live on an acre of land.

The intensive cultivation of the soil indefinitely continued arrives at this perfectly logical conclusion: the selection of a few optimum crops and the elimination of all except incidental meat. Why feed corn to a pig when the same corn can be made into bread and far more efficiently fed directly to men? Why grow delicacies on soil which will produce potatoes? The present standard of food consumption cannot be indefinitely maintained in the face of an indefinitely increasing population. So far as food is concerned, unless the chemist will produce for us synthetic luxuries, we shall have to be content with a standardized diet. This may be better for us physically than our present custom of poisoning the system with more and richer foods than it can assimilate, but it will be far less pleasant. The social meal will then have to give way before the feeding process.

The writer does not mean to be interpreted as contending that a Chinafication of the standard of living is inevitable. It is merely inevitable if we pursue a Chinese attitude toward the population problem: that of

heedlessly multiplying up to the saturation point and without a thought of the all-important point of diminishing returns. Through taking thought, and the trend of the birth-rate would indicate that we are taking thought, we can avoid the unpleasant dilemma. Still the popular mind fails to grasp the significance of the problem before us, and we are faced with laissez-faire optimisms on the one hand and pastoral denunciations on the other. Nevertheless, both the death-rate and the birth-rate continue to decline and serious-minded scholars to issue their warnings. The situation is not hopeless. A new social frame of mind is in the progress of making. It will take time for the downward percolation of the idea, but it will arrive.

Neglected Food Sources. It has been contended that many foods have been neglected; that we can use wild animal life more effectively than we are now doing. The reindeer is given as an example. Earlier the buffalo might have been cited, but we have already seen his practical extermination. The Japanese use sea-foods, such as certain seaweeds and fish, more largely than we do. These, however, due to their high perishability, are mainly available to populations which have more or less immediate accessibility to them. We may point to the fact also that sea-foods are relatively expensive, and fall in the class of luxuries even along our American seacoasts. While there is gain in this direction—the increase of the general food supply through the use of neglected plants and animals, and the further exploitation of the sea—the amount of gain which may be anticipated is relatively small. Again, returning to China for an illustration, we might in lean years use the leaves of the trees and the ground bark of the slippery elm for food. But this is exactly the dilemma we are seeking to avoid—the lowering of the standard of living till we are reduced to such straits.

Inefficient Use and Waste of Food. It has been said that a French family could feed itself well on what an American family wastes. Here is a real problem and it is undoubtedly a fact that the food we already have might be made to go much further once our housewives were faced with the necessity of making it do so. Improved transportation and storage facilities will help toward the same end.

INADEQUACY OF ADDITIONAL SUPPLY COMPARED TO TOTAL NEED

Thus we see that through the addition of new agricultural areas, scientific agriculture, the standardization of crops, the elimination of many luxuries and the major portion of the meat which we now consume, a more highly standardized diet, the exploitation of the sea, the use of now

neglected food-plants and animals and the mass production of cheap commercial fertilizers we can increase our food productivity. The trouble is that we are so prone to overemphasize these various sources of increase. The enthusiast observes the reindeer of the north and at once jumps to the conclusion that the population could be doubled if only this source of food were fully exploited. "Another population could be supported by the fruits of the sea alone." The fact is that man has already done pretty well in exploiting the food resources of this earth. If certain foods have been neglected, it is apt to be because the cost of obtaining them was too great. Each one of the above sources of increase, while actual, is in and of itself but a drop in the bucket compared with what populations will need if the present rate of increase is to continue. Supposing that in the above sources of increase we can see a doubling, a trebling, even a quadrupling of the annual food supply of the world within the next few centuries. What does that mean to a world population which is actually increasing at the rate of 1 per cent per year, and is capable of increasing four times as rapidly? Malthus was right. In spite of a century of phenomenal Western prosperity, the population *does* tend to increase more rapidly than the food supply.

PRIMACY OF THE FOOD PROBLEM

It will be impossible for us to consider in detail the other resources of the earth on which man depends for his clothing, his housing, the arts, and industry. After all, food comes first. So long as a world surplus is produced, industrial and commercial specialization can continue, but food is the limiting factor. We can continue to produce automobiles only so long as that labor and capital is not needed for the production of the primary essentials of life. Great Britain is able to maintain her present population because: "The plains of North America and Russia are her corn fields; Chicago and Odessa her granaries; Canada and the Baltic her timber-forests; Australia contains her sheep farms; in Argentina and on the Western plains of America are her herds of oxen; Peru sends her silver, and gold from South Africa and Australia flows into London; the Hindus and the Chinese grow tea for them; their coffee, sugar and spice come from the Indies; Spain and France are their vineyards; the Mediterranean their fruit garden; her cotton grounds were formerly the United States but now are being extended."³ But what will happen when the inhabitants of these areas need the products of their soil for their own consumption? It is a mistake to allow the industrial expansion of the

³ Wright, H., *Population*, New York, 1923, p. 78.

past century to blind us to the real problem of feeding, clothing, and housing the world.

OTHER NON-FOOD RESOURCES

Many estimates have been made with regard to future supplies of such clothing and industrial materials as silk, wool, and cotton. They can be as easily increased as the food supplies, but we may take it for granted that ranges will not be used for sheep-grazing once they are needed for the production of food crops. Cotton-fields which are capable of growing grains will be so used when the grains are needed. Similarly valuable land will not be used for the production of mulberry leaves for the consumption of worms when that land can be more advantageously used for the production of food for man. But, one asks, why does suffering China, then, not grow man-food instead of worm-food and why does she give over vast areas to the production of tea-leaves which a large portion of her population cannot afford to brew into tea? The answer is that they are valuable in exchange so long as foreign countries can afford to buy them.

Our experts are continually foretelling the end of our coal and ore fields, and the number of years our oil reserves will last. We can only take their word for it that the end is in sight. To be sure, to be told that the world's store of hard coal is sufficient to last for 3,000 years at the present rate of consumption or even that Great Britain has supplies for only five or six centuries more, scarcely interests us. A thousand years! Or half that time! When that day has come we will no longer be needing coal. And oil? What if we are squandering it? We will soon find a substitute. These answers come glibly enough because we are a young people; because we are such precocious infants. We forget that the heritage of the past century will not be reproduced for our children. We think in terms of decades rather than the thousands of years of civilization or thousands of centuries man has been at work producing this civilization. Whether we have coal and iron for one century or twenty makes no difference. Man is apt to be on this earth for a long time more, and the end of these reserves is within sight of the scientist, whose word we are compelled to take.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MARGIN OF SAFETY

In conclusion we must face the problem of the margin of safety. Do what man will, Nature does not always coöperate with him in the production of crops. She sometimes withholds the requisite humidity, and again deluges us with it. She sends us biting frosts and scorching winds.

We are compelled to fight pests, and sometimes the game is a losing one. It is the experience in a certain section of the country that if a farmer can depend on one bumper crop in four, he can survive. This being the case, we must figure on a margin of safety or surplus to carry us over the lean years. This is the trouble in the Orient to-day. The standard of living is based on the expectation of a normal crop each year. So low is the standard of living that it cannot be reduced without the most serious consequences. We read of their famines, but forget that a famine with them would be merely a crop failure with us. It is not a difference in the character of the phenomenon, but a difference in its social consequences. A famine is merely a crop failure without a sufficient margin of safety.

If we are to maintain a population which is optimum with regard to number and the standard of living, we shall have to consider most carefully the law of diminishing returns as it applies to the human consumers and producers of this world's goods. The basic materials from which these goods are made are strictly limited, even though man's ingenuity is not. Man's fecundity, relatively, is not limited. On the one hand, we must look forward to making the best possible use of the finite world on which we find ourselves. On the other, we must see to it that this world of ours is not swamped with more human swarms than it can well accommodate.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. On the basis of one acre per family of five, what is the potential agricultural population of the United States?
2. If this condition obtained, what would happen to the standard of living?

3. Would industry flourish as at present? What would happen to foreign trade?
4. Wherein lies the fallacy of the statement that the State of Texas, if intensively cultivated, could support the population of the world?
5. What is the agricultural situation in the United States, and what are the prospects for future increase?
6. Why worry over the agricultural situation so long as we are rich in manufactures and are prosperous commercially?
7. What are the problems connected with and the prospects for the maintenance of the fertility of the soil?
8. If population pressure in the United States were to push the intensive cultivation of the soil to the limit, with resultant standardization of food production, which crops would be the ones which would be likely to be selected for cultivation?
9. What are our neglected food sources and what may we hope from them?
10. What is the problem of the margin of safety?
11. What and how much are the main products, imports, and exports of the United States? Compare in each case our total production with its surplus of import over export or vice versa.
12. Prepare a table showing our reserves of natural resources and how long our experts estimate that they will last.

CHAPTER 8

THE SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF THE POPULATION PROBLEM

Plant and animal populations, except when domesticated, are affected in their rates of increase entirely by the material factors discussed in the last two chapters. Human populations alone are affected in addition by another set of factors which are non-material or spiritual in nature. These are the social and psychological causes which exist because man is man; because he is a thinking being and capable of self-socialization. The lower animals are creatures of their environment and are subject to the laws of rigid and arbitrary natural selection. Their natural environment both makes them and breaks them. They are capable of domestication by man, but are incapable of self-domestication as has been the case with the human animal. Man alone is capable of purposeful progress; of setting his course and mapping out his own destiny. The lower animals are creatures of blind and highly fixed instinct, while he has replaced instinct with social habit.

Only man is able to appreciate an *optimum-numbers* concept. Human societies alone are capable of programs which have for their object the balance of population; of either speeding up reproduction or of reducing the excess and weeding out the unfit; of facing the problem of numbers before it has arrived. The pack, in a sort of blind fury, will fall upon and destroy a wounded member. Fowls in the farmyard will fly at and peck at the individual of the flock which behaves queerly. This is, however, but a blind and instinctive reaction. Man has at his disposal much more effective agents.

SOCIAL RESTRAINTS AND ENCOURAGEMENTS

Death, disaster and privation limit numbers. Numbers are also limited by potential human reproductivity. They are increased by peace, plenty, and protection. These are material agents. Restraints and encouragements are also present which are of a non-material nature. They run the whole gamut from the most incidental social approvals and disapprovals embedded in custom and tradition to the strictest sanctions which may be found in law and religion.

We have, for instance, very definite styles in the size of families. These styles change; they vary with time and place even within the same nation. Furthermore, different styles exist within the different social and economic strata of the same general population. What would be considered as normal on Park Avenue or Riverside Drive would be thought a very poor showing by the denizens of the Lower East Side. At the present time a couple producing four children are thought to have fully met their social obligation, while no surprise is expressed if there be but two. "Four children! What a nice family!" or "Six children! You certainly have a job on your hands!" are the commonly heard reactions which indicate to us what society expects. Our colonial ancestors would have remarked, "What! only ten! my mother had eighteen."

The Chinese are incapable of comprehending the possibility of voluntary spinsterhood. They consider it unnatural and perhaps immoral. Our single female missionaries in that country have often met with serious embarrassment in explaining their status. The local gentry have often come to the conclusion that the excess females were the concubines of the males of the mission station; a situation which, according to their lights, was entirely proper, or at least a logical explanation of the enigma. To them marriage and reproduction is woman's only career—indeed, her only reason for existence. They are at a loss to know what to call a mature virgin. Their terms apply to adolescent girls, and to apply the same term to those of mature years seems ridiculous. They are puzzled by the small families of the foreigners in their midst. They know by observation that it is not due to a high infant mortality rate for the foreigner does not lose his children as they do theirs. What is the reason? "Well, perhaps they are degenerate," for "no man with an iota of filial piety would voluntarily keep the size of his family down." The ideal of the Oriental is to marry early and as frequently as necessary, to insure the largest possible posterity. To be sure, this program has defeated its purpose, for the resulting overpopulation has produced such a death-rate that their excess of births over deaths is really smaller than ours. Nevertheless, the style more effectively regulates marriage and reproduction than do any such practical considerations as might be advanced.

Thus husbands and wives see themselves reflected in the social mirror. Whether it be Peking, Paris, or Pawtucket, suburb or slum, there is a normal fecundity expected of them and they are very sensitive in their reaction to it.

Styles in the size of families have long been on the steady decrease in practically all of the more civilized nations of the world. There was a

time when the terms *spinster* and *old maid* carried more of a stigma than they do at the present time. Our modern women have demanded the same right to "single blessedness" that men have had, the home is no longer their only possible career, and one does not speak of herself as a "bachelor girl" with any sense of apology.

Public opinion goes much farther than merely setting styles in the size of families. It determines all those factors which have to do with securing a mate and establishing a family. It limits the relations between the sexes before marriage, the degree of freedom which each shall enjoy, the range of choice in finding mates, woman's sphere, the age at which and the conditions under which marriage may be contracted, the standard of life which must be maintained, the respective duties of husband and wife, and the social values and ideals connected in general with the home and family life. All of these affect the span of the generation, the marriage rate, and the rate of genetic increase. We are scarcely conscious of these regulators. They seem to us to be merely reflections of things as they are. But we obey them. Public opinion is usually remarkably sensitive to changes in the material conditions on which it is based. Population pressure, a disappearing frontier, a threatened standard of living, easily interpret themselves into stricter marriage taboos, while increasing prosperity and economic security may work in the opposite direction. Custom may, however, be so deeply embedded and firmly entrenched as to defy change and time. This seems to have been the case in China for a thousand years. Family styles have remained unchanged in the face of every catastrophe which overpopulation has wrought.

LEGAL AND RELIGIOUS SANCTIONS

Sometimes society has not been satisfied with control through slow-moving and easy-going public opinion and the laws of God and man have been called upon to furnish the penalties and rewards necessary to accomplish the task. Accordingly we have sanctions now enjoining and now severely penalizing infanticide. The Spartans used it to improve the race. The Chinese have used it in the main in the case of female infants as an economic measure, while with us in America it is a major crime. Bachelors have in various ways been penalized, reproduction has been rewarded, and parenthood has been subsidized. In some countries birth-control clinics are operated, or at least tolerated by the state. In America it is against the law for a physician to give advice on the subject. We even question the right of the physician to allow the hopelessly defective infant to die. It has been in the past, but fortunately not at the present, a fine ethical

question in the case of childbirth when both mother and child could not be saved, as to whether the physician's main duty was to the mother or to the child. Should the mother be sacrificed that the child might live, or was the mother's life the main consideration? Prostitution is usually deplored. Illegitimacy is frowned upon, and the unmarried mother is made to feel the burden of her sin. In some few states there are sterilization laws for cases of certain types of insanity and of feeble-mindedness, but with the exception of California they are fairly inoperative. In some states medical examination is required in order to secure a marriage license. In general, however, society either remains quiescent or frowns upon any and all attempts to control the reproduction of even the unfit by law.

The hand of religion is seen in all matters affecting morals, but more especially those having to do with sex. Here its pronouncements are made in no uncertain voice, and woe betide the trespasser! In general, however, its sanctions have to do with the protection of the marriage vow and the family tie. It encourages marriage, and where it speaks at all on the subject seeks to insure and increase reproduction.

Most of our encouragements and discouragements, our sanctions and sentiments, are based on emotional reactions to given and temporary situations rather than to any study and understanding of the problem. They are hold-overs from the past. They are none the less effective means of control, but reconstruction comes with difficulty. The modern American married couple rather hesitate to have a child within the first year of married life. It seems rather more respectable if the first child does not appear for a couple of years. In China friends and relatives are puzzled if the year is rounded out without the opportunity of felicitating the young couple. There are even certain rights and taboos which are practiced because they are supposed to insure fertility. There are temples with special gods of fertility. These enjoy perhaps more patronage than any others. Incense is burned, candles are lighted, prayers are said, contributions are made, and the worshiper slips out clutching to her bosom the porcelain figurine of a child, male of course, which is the symbol of the prayer which she hopes will be answered. The mother-in-law also visits the temples and shrines and all is done that possibly can be by the good offices of the gods and social suasion to bring early and frequent birth.

EFFECT OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS ON THE BIRTH-RATE

Not only by custom and tradition, by law and order, is the birth-rate regulated, but also by the individual's reaction to his manner of life as well. A low standard of living, poverty, and economic hopelessness unfor-

tunately do not have the opposite effect. Where these conditions obtain, whether it be a nation or a social stratum, we are apt also to have a high birth-rate. Perhaps we should call it thoughtless marriage and hapless reproduction. Fortunately or unfortunately, a high death-rate is apt to obtain in the same areas. Where a fairly high standard of living is endangered by marriage, we find marriage postponed and economy practiced in the bringing of children into the world. This seems to be the first economy adopted where the standard of living is high enough to be worth fighting for.

Democracy, social opportunity, education, and the advantages which go with them discourage unrestricted multiplication. This is not because selfishness and love of ease is thereby bred, but because these conditions breed foresight and caution. They result in the heedful replenishment of the population rather than in heedless reproduction and consequent overpopulation.

It is difficult to say that a high death-rate is the cause of a correspondingly high birth-rate, but certain it is that the two usually go together. In one sense it may be said that the high mortality requires a larger number of births. In a similar manner wars and natural disasters which destroy much life are usually followed by increase in births. It is remarkable how quickly populations recuperate from such losses.

SOCIAL PHENOMENA ATTENDING A CONDITION OF POPULATION PRESSURE

Population pressure may be said to exist when the *optimum* number has been *exceeded* and hence the point of *diminishing returns* has been reached. But while the above definition is easy, it is as yet impossible to make exact the statistical measurements required to show just where a given population at a given time stands with regard to this point of change. There are, however, certain economic, political, and social phenomena which attend a condition of overpopulation which may serve as indications. Of course there are all degrees and conditions of population pressure, ranging from the types obtaining in China and Japan to the milder forms exhibited in England and the United States. In China we have it in intensified form with a population subsisting in the main on a highly standardized agriculture and a simplified range of production and diet. In Japan, due to modern industrialization and commercial organization, we have the phenomenon of a greater density of population but a lesser pressure of the population on the available means of subsistence. In these two countries and in the Orient in general, population pressure is undeniably present. In England and the United States we have not so

much evidence of actual pressure as we have of the beginnings, or danger, of pressure. England cannot feed herself by means of the cultivation of her own soil. She depends in large part on the exchanges which she is able to effect with foreign producers of the necessities of life. Hence the prosperity of her trade and commerce will be her index. The United States finds itself in the most favored position of all. We have not only commerce and industry highly developed, but a sufficient wealth of natural resources to be able to help supply the necessities of life to the remainder of the world. But that we are beginning to feel the pressure is evidenced by the fact that we have seen fit to curtail accretions to our population through immigration and a general increasing difficulty in maintaining our already high standard of life.

ECONOMIC PHENOMENA

Where population pressure exists and the point of diminishing returns has been reached, we will find an increasing proportion of capital and labor used in the extractive industries and a resort to lower grades and more inaccessible supplies of land and other natural resources. We are told that the point of diminishing returns in agriculture was reached in the United States as early as 1890. When this point has been reached in all countries, the possibility of extensive importation and exportation of food supplies will be greatly lessened and each country will be compelled to feed itself. This is the situation in China at the present time. Her imports and exports are negligible in comparison with the subsistence needs of her people. She has even been reduced to the dire straits of exporting her best rice for Japanese consumption and importing inferior grades of Japanese rice for home consumption. We import her tea and silk and will continue to do so as long as we can afford to consume these luxuries. When she, like Japan, is industrialized, a new point of diminishing returns will be set, and the process of populating her country up to that point will start all over again.

In general, extreme population pressure results ultimately in smaller agricultural holdings, increased hand-labor, production in the main of the necessities of life, lower wages, a lower standard of living, and increased difficulty in earning a living.

POLITICAL PHENOMENA

If it is true that the world is already beginning to feel population pressure, international relations should show us some of its fruits. There are those who contend that both the World War and the present unrest are

products of population pressure. All countries are seeking economic advantage for the better support of their already teeming populations. Some of them are seeking outlets for their surplus numbers. It is natural that neighboring nations should watch each other's every move with alarm and suspicion, for each is out for himself. Some are seeking colonies to exploit, and all are after markets and trade advantages. Population pressure renders international problems more acute and develops a favorable attitude toward war. The more intense the struggle for existence, the more difficult is the operation of the democratic form of government. Law and order are also endangered, for the morals of hungry and overworked men are not high.

SOCIAL PHENOMENA

Population pressure may be directly interpreted in terms of the ease of earning a living, distribution of social and economic opportunity, the standard of living which can be maintained, and the general outlook on life. Hence it is a potent determiner of the social values which will be held by the group. The Chinese have a saying, "It is idle to talk morals to an empty stomach." Where life is a drab struggle for mere subsistence, where individualism is impossible because it implies taking too great a risk, where every possible resource must be husbanded and every advantage greedily snatched, social ideals will be molded accordingly. Altruistic sentiments and practices will be a luxury which, in the very nature of things, cannot be widely indulged.

The outstanding social phenomenon observed under a condition of population pressure is the *decreased value of human life*. Where the struggle is for bare subsistence rather than for better subsistence, a ruthless weeding-out of all but the fittest will obtain. Life is held cheap because there is so much of it—because it is actually a drug on the market. Where large numbers of people yearly starve and freeze to death, an insecure hold on life is taken for granted. It is possible even to hail famine, pestilence, and disaster as beneficent economic safety-valves. Where the exceptional thing is for the child to live rather than to die, child life will be held cheap. These are not arm-chair theorizings; they are the observed fruits of an extreme condition of population pressure in the Orient. Countless revolting illustrations might be marshaled to prove the point. One group will suffice. When the last great famine broke out in China, the foreigners at once began to bestir themselves to organize relief work. Since millions were facing starvation, suffering, and death, the foreigners felt that immediate steps should be taken to save them. This was the reaction of the representatives of a Western population with a high standard

of living. The somewhat westernized Chinese fell in line and coöperated most magnificently. But those of the older school objected. They called the attention of the foreigners to the fact that the only real economic relief China ever had was when a beneficent famine or other disaster came along and wiped out large numbers of consumers. Then, for a time, there was enough to go around. In the very districts in which the famine raged the most furiously, exploitation went on apace. In my own district, in the middle of the winter, were warehouses piled to the very rafters with bags of grain. The courtyards were piled ten feet high and covered with temporary matting protections. The government railways were transporting and handling this grain, and the pittance for free distribution, to save life, by no means had the right of way. Daily mule-trains of golden grain were transported across country for the few who were able to pay the high famine prices for it. Villagers were selling their farms, which represented their sole guarantee of existence, tearing out the rafters of their houses for the little they would bring, selling their children, even bartering their wives. They did not sell their children because of any abnormal hardness of heart, but because that was better than starvation; because the child who had thus been bought would at least be kept alive. Starving wretches brushed the bags for the few grains that worked their way through the coarse fabric and sifted the very dust of the road where the grain was being loaded and unloaded. One little pinched-faced chap showed the writer proudly a good handful which he had thus salvaged. At home it was probably thrown into the pot along with leaves and ground bark and boiled up, and served to keep the family alive for another day. It is significant that the three finest banquets served to the writer during his years in China were served by the Chief Magistrates of the counties in which he was dispensing relief. The rich took famine for granted and did little or nothing to relieve the suffering of the poor. Among the sufferers there was little sympathy shown for the other chap, little altruistic sharing, for they were all starving to death together. Each suffering family secured and hoarded what it could for itself. Its own suffering closed its eyes to the suffering of the others. Truly life is cheap in China, and the Chinese feel that if an individual or a family cannot hold its own in the bitter struggle for food, the quicker it is out of the way the better.

Not in China alone has the decreased value of human life been observed. The period of the Industrial Revolution in Europe furnishes us with many similar examples. Men and women were herded in factories like animals. Little children were tied to the looms. The result is a pious fatalism with regard to poverty and suffering. "For the poor ye shall have

always with you," therefore why try to do anything about it? During the decline of the glorious days of the monarchy in France, the lives of the peasants were the lives of animals.

"The houses occupied by the country people differed greatly from Sicily to Pomerania, and from Ireland to Poland; but, in general, they were small, with little light and ventilation, and often they were nothing but wretched hovels with dirt floors and neglected thatch roofs. The pigs and cows were frequently better housed than the people, with whom they associated upon very familiar terms, since the barn and the house were commonly in the same building. The drinking water was bad, and there was no attempt to secure proper drainage. Fortunately every one was out of doors a great deal of the time, for women as well as men usually worked in the fields, cultivating the soil and helping to gather in the crops."¹

Both the birth-rate and the death-rate were high and, what is worse, they were taken for granted. A sort of "the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away" philosophy obtained, and little was done to improve matters. The poor were taught that God had placed them in their station and that they could best please Him by exhibiting contentment with their lot. Even the budding economists felt little hope for the improvement of the living conditions of the masses. They demonstrated scientifically that the lot of the worker would always and of necessity be close to the margin of subsistence. But they did not remain convinced either by science or by theology. Their reaction is summed up in the words of Charles Kingsley: "The man who tells us that we ought to investigate nature simply to sit still patiently under her and let her freeze and ruin and starve and stink us to death is a goose, whether he calls himself a chemist or a political economist."²

A further indication of the decreased value of human life under conditions of population pressure is seen in the treatment of delinquents and defectives. Penalties are apt to be severe, and defectives are allowed to die of neglect. Under a condition of severe struggle for subsistence, social order must be obtained at any cost, therefore the offender must be exterminated. To-day we question the wisdom of capital punishment for any crime, even that of murder. We have seen the time when the starving wretch was hanged for stealing a loaf of bread and when severe penalties were meted out for what would to-day be considered mere misdemeanors. If the defective was cared for at all, it was by his immediate family. Society could undertake no such sentimental responsibility.

¹ Robinson, J. H., and Beard, C. A., *Outlines of European History*, Ginn & Co., Boston, 1914, Part II, p. 3.

² Robinson and Beard, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 274.

The position of woman was low. She was treated as a chattel and a breeding animal. It is only when near optimum numbers obtain that she comes into her own in equality with man. Little value was placed on child life, especially that of female children. With little conscience they were exploited and if they were so unfortunate as to survive, adult responsibilities were thrust upon them at a tender age. Philanthropy and poor relief were at a low ebb. These too were sentimental activities which could not be too extensively indulged in for fear they might further disturb the balance between the population and the food supply. Let them die if they cannot compete in the struggle for subsistence, seems to have been the attitude.

Many of our cherished social values are held to-day because we can afford them. We, in America, can afford to be individualists and idealists. We can afford to believe in our religion to the extent of sending thousands of missionaries and millions of dollars to the other side of the world. We can afford the sentimental luxury of keeping our unfit alive by means of the countless free hospitals, charitable agencies, dispensaries, insane asylums, sanatoria, colonies, camps, homes for the aged, foundling asylums, orphanages, and social settlements in which our prosperous civilization abounds. As the pressure of population on the food supply increases, these activities decrease in number and prosperity. They are luxuries which cannot be afforded. Religion becomes dogmatic and fatalistic because it is dangerous for people to think too much. The standard of education is lowered. Time cannot thus be wasted. There are neither time nor facilities for recreation. If one has surplus energy, it must be used in getting food and not unproductively. In China during the winter months the farmer goes through a process of near-hibernation. He is fed enough food to keep him alive, but not enough for labor. He sits in the sun and gossips, but indulges in no strenuous activities which would require a larger amount of nourishment. In the spring he is fed for labor. It has often been observed that Chinese children do not play, and the conclusion has been reached that something in their social system frowns upon it and develops them into little old men. Chinese children can play as hilariously as any children on the globe if they are provided with the calories which make it possible.

WHAT IS POVERTY?

Poverty can best be defined in terms of social shock. Each group defines poverty in terms of its own experiences and standards. It would be useless to compare poverty statistics gathered by the Peking police with those gathered by the police in New York. What would be considered the pov-

erty level by the latter would be counted as prosperity by the former. Thus a condition of poverty does not exist within a given community till living conditions obtain among the less fortunate which shock the sensibilities and sentiments of the more fortunate majority. Nothing is done to ameliorate their condition till this shock is felt, and the lower the general standard of living resulting from population pressure, the more delayed is the reaction.

CONCLUSION

A low standard of living resulting from population pressure encourages hapless reproduction, tolerates overlarge families, decreases the value of human life, holds disease, death, and suffering lightly, is satisfied with lower social values, and engenders ruthlessness in competition. Health and efficiency are lowered. Great economic and physical waste results from a high birth-rate and a high death-rate. Moral sensitiveness is dulled. Physical efficiency cannot be maintained at par. Social intelligence suffers. Training for life is limited to training for a life of struggle for the subsistence wants.

The social, physical, and economic costs of a low standard of life are the highest that any society has to pay.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the main differences between human and animal societies? Are they in the main physical or psychological in nature?
2. What evidences have we that man is capable of telic progress?
3. Why do American and European styles in the size of families differ? American and Chinese? modern American and colonial?
4. In what various ways does custom affect the rate of population increase?
5. In your particular group, when and under what conditions may young people marry, and what is considered the normal family?
6. What differences in social expectation do we find between urban and rural dwellers, between educated and uneducated, between rich and poor, between the working and the professional classes, and between the various geographical sections of the country?

7. Which is the more effective in determining the age at marriage and the size of the family, law or public opinion?
8. What is the attitude of religion toward the problem?
9. What legal sanctions can you point to which bear upon the subject?
10. How do you explain the fact that American society is somewhat scandalized at the idea of early marriage and large families, and at the same time is horrified at the idea of birth-control?
11. Why was the colonial birth-rate so high?
12. What factors have tended to reduce the American birth-rate?
13. What are the conditions attending overpopulation? Give the reason for each.
14. Explain how it is that a new invention or the opening-up of new lands sets a new point of diminishing returns.
15. What are the social effects of a condition of underpopulation?
16. Gather statistics showing the relationship between the standard of living and the birth-rate and death-rate in America and in other countries.

CHAPTER 9

THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL POPULATION MOVEMENTS

History records innumerable cases of population movement from one geographical area to another. The Bible furnishes some of the earliest of such examples in the wanderings and varied fortunes of the Children of Israel. Population pressure, in the form of famine, forced them to find refuge in Egypt, where they were welcomed much as America welcomed the first influx of immigrants from Europe. While there they increased in numbers to such an extent that they became a menace to the established economic order and the Egyptians were compelled to take strong measures against their further increase. This brought about their final emigration from that country and the problem of finding a new area in which to settle. In the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers populations were seething caldrons of humanity competing with each other for the land which was the chief means of subsistence. The conquest of one group by another sometimes meant the very nearly complete extermination of the conquered and the repopling of the area by the conquerors. Even before the time of Christ the Chinese people found it necessary to build a tremendous wall extending for thousands of miles across valleys and plains and following the ridges of mountain chains for the purpose of protecting themselves against foreign invasion from the north. In spite of this measure, wave after wave of foreign immigration has swept in during the centuries, only to give a new impetus to genetic increase and finally to be absorbed. Each of these waves of accretion has left its impress on the physical type and has made its cultural contributions, but each has become Chinese. After three centuries of government and exploitation by the lordly Manchus, Chinese civilization remains Chinese and the conquerors have forgotten their origin. Indeed the builder of the Great Wall was a "barbarian princelet from the West."

"The better part of Asia was once ruled from Peking, but Kublai Khan . . . was the Mongolian Emperor of China at the time.

"Chinese history, even superficially read, furnishes abundant evidence to prove that, whoever the original Chinese were, they have absorbed, from the most ancient times down to the immediate present, vast hordes of many breeds and have shaped them somewhat to their own traditions and ways of doing things, but have by no means evolved a common ethnological type. It would be

as inexact to speak of 'the Chinese race' as it would be to speak of 'the European race.' The Irishman would find as much in common with the Bulgarian in speech and manners as the native of Shansi with the Cantonese. The speech of the highlands in Shantung differs as much from that of the adjacent lowlands in the same province as does Italian from Spanish, and the people are as different in (physical) type as their dialects. In the time of Confucius the Shantung lowlands were populated by Chinese, while the highlands and the coast were peopled by the Lai savages, possibly of Korean origin, at all events a Tunguzic people having no more in common with the Chinese than the Slavic tribes had with the Romans. All of North China has been overrun and peopled by successive waves of Tunguzic and Tartar hordes, while the various peoples of the southern provinces are the descendants of the aboriginal tribes who became Chinese under a united rule in much the same way that the Celtic peoples of Gaul and Britain became Romans. In the time of Confucius there were blond Aryan tribesmen occupying tracts in what is now North-west China, and light eyes and hair in very frequent throwbacks testify that, while the majority of these blonds migrated, a certain number were absorbed. . . . Within the boundaries of China proper there are scores of fragments of non-Chinese peoples who still maintain their racial identity and their own non-Chinese languages but who are slowly and surely being absorbed and who would, with improved communications, be as Chinese as any others in two or three generations, retaining few traditions of an alien origin."¹

Similarly we find the descendants of the mythical Jimmu Tenno, the Japanese, exhibiting remarkable variations in physical type, from the hairy Ainu of the north to the sleek and diminutive inhabitants of the islands to the south. Siberia, Korea, various Chinese latitudes, and the South Sea Islands have made their contributions and have left their imprint. Due to the smallness of the Island Empire her culture, except for that of the backward Ainus, is one, but even so it is not indigenous to the soil. *native*

We are more familiar with the major movements which determined the present distribution of European population and which resulted in the re-peopling of the Americas. These would include the advance of Roman arms, depredations from the north, retaliations from the south and the various invasions by North African and Asiatic hordes. They would include all more modern attempts at colonization in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. They reach their climax in the most tremendous movement recorded by history, that of the steady migration to the North American continent of the representatives of every race and nation on the face of the globe.

Looking at the races and nations of the world in this light, it is difficult to convince ourselves that it is possible that there exists to-day a single

¹ Gilbert, Rodney, *What's Wrong with China*, Stokes, New York, 1926, pp. 50-51.

pure (original) race. We are a hopeless mixture and modern means of communication are accelerating the process. In America "our Niggers are already half 'Yaller,'" and wherever East meets West we have our Eurasian communities. Following the World War it was necessary in some cases even to hold plebiscites to discover predominant national predilections.

TYPES OF POPULATION MOVEMENT

Ever since there have been populations, there have been population movements. About the prehistoric movements we of course know nothing except that they inevitably took place. We are able to recognize the periods of the Piltdown men, Neanderthal men, and Cro-Magnon men. Each in turn disappeared and was replaced. These early movements, when man was peopling the earth, may not be designated as conscious and purposive migrations. They were wanderings, mainly, in as yet unoccupied territories, in quest of better food supplies and in response to changing climatic conditions. They were slow movements which we might designate as peaceful penetration. They preceded the dawn of history and scattered man to all quarters of the globe.

Instinctive wandering has brought about its own end. As soon as any habitable area has become completely populated, its people are under the necessity either of competing with each other for the possession of the soil or of turning pioneer and discovering new fields for their surplus numbers. Thus does instinctive wandering change into conscious movement.

When the Children of Israel came to Egypt they brought their depleted possessions with them. When they departed they left *en masse*, taking their greatly increased movable possessions and accepting forced donations from the Egyptians. They wandered, an entire migrating population, for more than a generation seeking a permanent location. When the Mongolian hordes invaded Europe in response to the pressure behind them, it was no mere advance of a conquering army. It was a mass movement of an entire people with all their goods and chattels. A picture in our history books which intrigued us when we were younger was that of the huts on wheels which accompanied these great movements. Nor were these expeditions accomplished in a few years, for whole lives were lived on the move. Wives, children, slaves, goods, tools, and even flocks and herds were taken along, which, of course, made rapid advance impossible. It was not a matter of transplanting individuals and families, but entire populations. The earlier movements were of this sort. They were population movements in the literal sense of the term. Another typical movement of this sort was that of the Goths. They spent 200 years *en route* to Rome.

Young men and women started that famous journey whose descendants of several generations later alone arrived. Mr. Wells, in his *Outline of History*, presents a map of Europe and West Asia in which he shows the "tracks of the various migrating and raiding peoples between 1 A.D. and 700 A.D." Its lines or "tracks" form a veritable network and indicate the widespread character of the movement. Invasions of this sort are not necessarily for conquest, though fighting is usually present. In the main they represent the advance of a swelling tide of humanity which cannot be stemmed.

Movement for the purpose of conquest is apt to be of quite a different sort, and is best illustrated by the growth and spread of the Roman Empire. Here the way is prepared by armies and fleets and the result may be merely the subjugation of populations for purposes of trade and tribute, or the establishment of colonies as well.

Colonization is another type of population movement which is more familiar to our generation. In this case, an entire population does not pull up stakes and move, but a new group is selected out of the old and, as a new population, is transplanted to a new environment. Thus it was that the "Mayflower" came to our shores.

Contrasted with these types of population movement, all of which are still more or less in operation in various parts of the world, we have a much more modern form which has been made possible through progress in means of communication, and which constitutes one of the main problems of modern civilization. It is that which we designate as emigration and immigration. Americans are apt to see but one aspect of the problem, that of immigration, but we must not forget that behind every immigrant coming to our shores and thus creating a problem, is the problem of emigration in the country from which he comes. The two are complementary problems and, perplexed as Americans are over what to do with the surplus numbers arriving, more perplexing still are the problems of emigrant countries to know what to do with the surplus numbers which they are producing. In this more modern form of the movement we have, not a mass movement of greater or smaller magnitude, but an individual or family migration to a new home. It would seem as though this would, of necessity, be a slow process, but the nineteenth-century movement from all parts of the world to the North American continent presents a magnitude in comparison with which the hordes which overran Europe sink into insignificance. It is with this type of movement that we are mainly concerned in this chapter.

It must not be understood that these movements are distinct and

mutually exclusive. A mere *wandering* may grow into a mass movement. Conquest may be present, colonization may result, and individual immigration may follow it up. In the peopling of the American continent we start with colonization. The Westward movement represents wandering, conquest, and colonization. Since 1820 our numbers have been extensively augmented by individual and family immigration.

PROBLEMS OF EMIGRATION

The problems of emigration precede the problems of immigration, since here we must consider the reasons why men leave old environments and seek new homes. We must start by recognizing the strong pull of home ties—the fact that men do not easily uproot themselves and start life anew amid unfamiliar scenes. Familiar paths are pleasant paths, “Be it ever so humble, there’s no place like home,” so long as it provides reasonable security and means of subsistence. Social habit and personal loyalties retard immigration. The urge must be a strong one which will cause a man to decide to transplant himself and family to a new environment, there to make over his life, fearfully adopting the new, regretfully discarding the old, adjusting himself to new articles of consumption, new activities, new methods of production, a new tempo of life, different means of recreation, new ideas, and a new way of living, thinking, and reacting.

No mass movement occurs so long as conditions at home are favorable. We do not know why the Goths started on their invasion of the South of Europe but it is a reasonable surmise that they were either forced out by population pressure and insecurity at home or lured by the prosperity which lay before them. The Mongolian invasions of Europe occurred at a time when the Chinese were strong enough not only to keep the Mongolians out of China but to encroach on the territories which the Mongolians already held. Usually we find both pressure from behind and lure ahead stimulating these great movements. Colonies are not made up from the successful and the satisfied of the mother population. Dissatisfaction may be felt toward political, religious, economic, or social opportunities in the homeland. Often it is a combination of the four. Europe was often guilty of recruiting her colonists from among her paupers and law-breakers. It was a good way to get rid of them. For the emigrant it represented an opportunity for a new start in life, a new prospect which could not be worse than the old. Even when colonies are well established, as in the case of English colonies in India, it is not easy to go. It is the lure of luxury, higher remuneration, and a higher social position which causes men to make the break with home ties. Consider the strength of the urge which

was necessary to persuade thousands of families to embark in frail sailing vessels on a perilous voyage across an uncharted ocean to the stern and rock-bound coast of a little-known continent peopled with savages. People may do this in order to escape death or imprisonment or in response to a consuming religious impulse, but whatever the stimulus, it must be strong. Emigrants do not represent a cross-section of the populations from which they depart. They are not the successful and secure of their respective communities. They are those who feel that they have much to gain by making the move, that the price they are paying in breaking home ties will be compensated by the advantages they will gain in the new environment. Neither do they represent the lowest types, the ones who have not sufficient initiative and strength of purpose to be willing to pay the price for the new start in life. Invading hordes did represent such a cross-section, but modern emigration does not.

The causes which produce migration, either group or individual, exist both within and without the individual, but in either case they are more or less closely connected with population pressure upon the means of subsistence. The climate and the soil may prove such as to make the struggle for existence unduly hard. Climatic changes and the failure of natural resources may endanger continued existence. Populations may increase to the point where the standard of living is endangered—where the share which goes to each is so small as to render life precarious.

For the remainder, social maladjustment is responsible. This may be economic, political, religious, or social, and is usually a combination. Men feel that they are being unduly exploited, resent the indignities which are heaped upon them, chafe under the restrictions which they must with patience suffer, and dream dreams of a new life in the country of their adoption. They are "under dogs" and as such will get out. Even these social maladjustments may frequently be traced to the conditions of overpopulation which breed them.

So long, then, as a condition of *optimum numbers* obtains within any population, there will be little thought of or need for emigration. But when the point of diminishing returns has been reached and the pressure of numbers is felt, we may expect both the people and their rulers to cast about for means of reducing the surplus. This is the problem of Europe and Asia at the present time. Japan is gasping for relief. She has sought it in Manchuria, Korea, and Formosa, but in none of these places do her prospective immigrants find conditions which attract them in large numbers. The climates and economic opportunities of the Hawaiian Islands and California are more to their liking, but there they meet the white

man's frown. They cannot understand why, with our great wealth and prosperity, we are so selfish as to deny them the opportunity of working our untilled soils. The Japanese have sufficient energy and ambition to emigrate, and their government has sufficient vision to see the wisdom of encouraging the emigration of only a reasonably superior class of risks. As regards China, the major portion of emigrants come from the southern provinces, mainly Fukien and Kwantung. This is not because conditions are worse there, but because the social barriers to emigration have been broken down. Most Chinese are so bound by custom and tradition that they prefer socially approved starvation near the graves of their ancestors to economic independence even 100 miles away. It is undoubtedly a fact that if our Western states had been as open to Asiatic immigration as the Eastern coast was to Europeans from 1850 to 1900, we would now have a preponderantly yellow population in that section of our country.

Emigration from Europe has been in waves, now inundations and now but a normal flow. It is interesting to note that the volume of emigration from Europe or from any given country has been closely correlated with conditions of economic prosperity and business depression on both sides of the Atlantic. Prosperity in America has acted as a lodestone and depression at home has been an expulsive force.

EMIGRATION A FALSE HOPE

Emigration is no solution of the problem of population pressure in countries which have reached that point. At best it is but a temporary relief—an opiate. It is like dipping water out of a tank which is filling too rapidly rather than reducing the flow by turning the spigot. We have already seen the amazing rapidity with which populations increase, their ability to populate their own territories without outside aid. We also recognize their inherent right to do so. We look upon the outsider as an invited guest and reserve the right to withhold invitations. Unless we break down all barriers and allow free movement of all populations to all parts of the world, thus equalizing the pressure in all parts and reducing the population problem to one single world problem, we can only solve the problems of pressure in the respective countries in which they arise. If European or Asiatic populations are reproducing with too great rapidity, their only salvation lies in the direction of cutting down on home production rather than in finding foreign markets, for these too in time will be glutted.

As water seeks its level, so populations seek to equalize themselves.

The flow is from areas of high population pressure to areas of low pressure. They break through natural barriers and beat upon the dikes erected to hold them back. Our immigration laws are such a dike. They are a protection to us only so long as we are in a position to enforce them.

Emigration, then, represents the problem of finding temporary relief from excess numbers. It is indicative of underlying problems of economic and social maladjustment. Fortunately nature takes its course and countries from which emigration takes place are usually not compelled to face the problem of selecting those who go. The best risks stay, and those who have not met with entire success leave. Even in case of religious and political persecution it is the dissenters—the socially disapproved—who emigrate.

PROBLEMS OF IMMIGRATION

The problems of immigration are complementary to the problems of emigration. Both movements take place in all countries, but either one or the other predominates; only one of the movements constitutes a problem. In the main the older and more densely populated countries are the emigrant nations, while the newer, more prosperous, and less densely populated ones face the problems of immigration. As such, countries to which immigration takes place are relatively young, vigorous, progressive, and prosperous. The standard of living is comparatively high, and greater equality of social and economic opportunity exists. They are magnets attracting the under-privileged of the world. We must not forget that they are also apt to be countries of rapid genetic increase, since conditions are favorable to early marriage and large families. They are not apt to be countries, except in their beginnings, which require the aid of immigration to populate them.

Three problems are faced by countries receiving immigrants in large numbers. They have to do with *numbers* or too rapid increase, *quality* or the type of immigrant coming, and *culture* or the type of social life produced by a mixture of widely divergent cultural elements.

So long as no barriers exist, population exchange between countries will continue as fast as transportation facilities permit and until equalization of pressure has been attained. This includes the equalization of the standard of living and of economic opportunity, but the equalization is apt to be a one-sided affair. The emigrant country, already reproducing with too great rapidity, is merely protected against the danger of lowering her standard, while the immigrant country will receive surplus numbers till her standard of living and opportunity has been reduced to such a

point that she is no longer a force of attraction. Any population desiring to maintain a high standard of living or to insure an increasing standard must consider the problem of the balance between probable numbers and potential food supply. They must safeguard themselves against too rapid genetic increase, but even more against an inundation of immigrants who are usually adults at the reproductive age and of large family stocks.

Unrestricted and undirected immigration is automatically selective. Neither the best nor the worst physical and mental types are attracted; nor does the immigrant represent the average. He is apt to be drawn from the lower middle classes and as such he is not representative of the stock from which he comes. This is not the case if the motive force impelling him is political or religious persecution at home and promised toleration abroad. Such a situation has often resulted in the expulsion of the finer elements of a population. This, however, is the exception rather than the rule. To-day especially, immigrants are in search of better economic opportunity and as economic opportunity in emigrant nations improves, progressively lower cultural and economic types are emigrating.

"Melting-pots" not only produce new and complex physical types, but new and perplexing cultures as well. Americanization programs are a last resort and a faint hope in the preservation of our civilization, if we may be so bold as to assert that we still have one. It is idle to hope that the immigrant casting his lot with us will ever discard the loyalties and social values of his youth. We may go far in changing his children, but so long as he has them out of school hours, the traditions of the fatherland will continue to germinate. So long as communities are predominantly German, Italian, or Jewish, they will retain the complexion of the cultures from which they sprang and persist as focal areas for their spread. This is no idle fear. We have German, Scandinavian, French, and other communities in America which have retained their distinctive characteristics since long before the Civil War. They have retained their native languages, customs, and traditions. They even operate their own schools, and both teach and worship in a foreign tongue. If our desire is to produce a cosmopolitan culture, free and unrestricted immigration is the surest road. If we feel justifiable pride in the culture we have and wish to preserve it, immigration must be carefully controlled. So long as we make ourselves a haven of refuge for the poor and oppressed of the world we will receive the world's near-failures and iconoclasts.

Immigrant countries are faced with the problem of what the immigrant will do to them as much as what they will do with him. It is a serious problem which cannot be set aside with a mere emotional reaction and

idealistic sentiment. It is a practical problem of telic progress, the type of civilization in which we will to live.

TABLE 9

UNITED STATES ALIEN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS *

(Total immigrants admitted from all countries by fiscal years)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>
1820.....	8,385	1857.....	112,123	1894.....	285,631
1821.....	9,127	1858.....	191,942	1895.....	258,536
1822.....	6,911	1859.....	129,571	1895.....	343,267
1823.....	6,354	1860.....	133,143	1897.....	230,832
1824.....	7,912	1861.....	142,877	1898.....	229,299
1825.....	10,199	1862.....	72,183	1899.....	311,715
1826.....	10,837	1863.....	132,925	1900.....	448,572
1827.....	18,875	1864.....	191,114	1901.....	487,918
1828.....	27,382	1865.....	180,339	1902.....	648,743
1829.....	22,520	1866.....	332,577	1903.....	857,046
1830.....	23,322	1867.....	303,104	1904.....	812,870
1831.....	22,633	1868.....	282,189	1905.....	1,026,499
1832.....	60,482	1869.....	352,768	1906.....	1,100,735
1833.....	58,640	1870.....	387,203	1907.....	1,285,349
1834.....	65,365	1871.....	321,350	1908.....	782,870
1835.....	45,374	1872.....	404,806	1909.....	751,786
1836.....	76,242	1873.....	459,803	1910.....	1,041,570
1837.....	79,340	1874.....	313,339	1911.....	878,587
1838.....	38,914	1875.....	227,498	1912.....	838,172
1839.....	68,069	1876.....	169,986	1913.....	1,197,892
1840.....	84,066	1877.....	141,857	1914.....	1,218,480
1841.....	80,289	1878.....	138,469	1915.....	326,700
1842.....	104,565	1879.....	177,826	1916.....	298,826
1843.....	52,496	1880.....	457,257	1917.....	295,403
1844.....	78,615	1881.....	669,431	1918.....	110,618
1845.....	114,371	1882.....	788,992	1919.....	141,132
1846.....	154,416	1883.....	603,322	1920.....	430,001
1847.....	234,968	1884.....	518,592	1921.....	805,228
1848.....	226,527	1885.....	395,346	1922.....	309,556
1849.....	297,024	1886.....	334,302	1923.....	522,919
1850.....	369,980	1887.....	490,109	1924.....	706,896
1851.....	379,466	1888.....	546,889	1925.....	294,314
1852.....	371,603	1889.....	444,427	1926.....	304,488
1853.....	368,645	1890.....	455,302	1927.....	335,175
1854.....	427,833	1891.....	560,319		
1855.....	200,877	1892.....	579,663		
1856.....	195,857	1893.....	439,730		
				Total....	36,908,779

* The above table covers only immigrant aliens and does not include non-immigrant aliens.

THE AMERICAN IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

The American immigration problem is not the problem of what might have been, but the problem of the situation which we face as the result of more than a century of practically unrestricted influx of alien elements. Realizing, with the close of the World War, that a new high tide of inflow was imminent, new and drastic restrictions were set up. The "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan was scrapped and all Asiatics were put on a common basis of absolute exclusion. European nations were put on a quota basis dependent on the number already in this country. The result was to encourage immigration from the North of Europe which was already represented by large numbers here and hence had large quotas, and to discourage the more recent immigration from the South and East European peoples. The actual administration of the new law has been defective in many respects. It has been fumbling and inconsistent. American-born women, wives of foreigners, have suddenly found themselves and their children debarred. Families have been broken. British subjects whose children happen to have been born in Abyssinia find that their children must come in under the Abyssinian quota and that if this quota is closed and the British quota is open, the parents are welcome, but the children are not. Furthermore the new law has had the effect of encouraging the smuggling of immigrants across our long borders, and once they gain access to our country there is little hope of discovering them. Be this as it may, a law as drastic as this requires time for adjustment and it has had the effect of greatly reducing the numbers of immigrants entering. On a recent trip to Ellis Island an official apologized for having so little to show. "There were only sixty to-day and most of them are already cleared. It is not much like the old times when we handled as many as five thousand in a single day."

It is incorrect to say that America has been peopled by immigrants. The original settlers were colonists and it was not till the year 1820 that immigration reached sufficient proportions to be recognized as an important factor in the peopling of the continent. Strictly speaking, the colonial period ends with the recognition of the new Republic by England in 1782. Between that time and 1820, when the first immigration records were systematically collected, it has been estimated that approximately 250,000 immigrants came in. These were mostly from the United Kingdom and from the North of Europe. The colonists were from the same stocks. This resulted, long before 1820, in the firm establishment of English standards, customs, and traditions, to which the few immigrants from other coun-

tries were led to conform. Their assimilation was quick and fairly complete, and presented no problem. Plenty of land and a constant demand for labor made them desirable. They had not come in numbers large enough to create a social problem. The economic problem had not yet been born, and only from the standpoint of religion or politics might they be considered undesirable. Some restriction of the entrance of paupers and criminals was aimed at, but it was not till the next decade that Europe realized what great possibilities lay in this direction and began the systematic dumping of her human refuse on our shores.

After 1820 three general periods may be recognized: the old immigration, which lasted till approximately 1880; the new immigration, which lasted till the World War; and the period of restriction, which we entered at the close of the War.

The first period was one of unparalleled activity in opening up, settling, and exploiting the resources of the new continent. Immigrants were welcome because they were helpers in this vast project. They came from both the East and the West. In 1848 there were some fifty Chinese on the Pacific coast, but with the discovery of gold in California their number increased to 25,000 in that state alone by the year 1851. In the year 1820, 8,000 immigrants entered our gates. In 1830 the number increased nearly threefold. In 1840 it was 84,000, and in another ten years we find 370,000 entering in a single year. During the unsettled days preceding and following the Civil War, the numbers went down but only once were they under the 100,000 mark. In the year 1870 387,000 entered, and in 1880 immigration was within less than 50,000 of the half-million mark. Or, looking at the matter in terms of decades, we find that during the first decade of this period (1820-1830), less than 150,000 entrants came, while during the last decade of the period (1870-1880), the number had risen to nearly three million.

Most of the more than ten million immigrants who came to America between 1820 and 1880 were from the North and West of Europe. They were people of similar customs and traditions and created no insurmountable problem due to different cultural backgrounds. The majority of them were either farmers or craftsmen of one sort or another. Comparatively few of them were wholly unskilled laborers. They fitted into our national life, most of them taking up their work where they had left off in the old country. Germans showed a tendency to migrate to Wisconsin. Scandinavians, to Minnesota and the Dakotas; while the Irish remained in the East. They formed communities and at present are the backbone of our nation.

The period was not without its problems, however. Transportation

facilities were a scandal. The newcomers were exploited both on leaving and arriving. They huddled in slums. There was little effort directed at selection, and hence there were included an undue number of paupers and criminals. Many were diseased and entirely ignorant, and there was no adequate means for their reception. It was a period of chaos during which time control was, for the most part, in the hands of the individual states. But there was an ultimate niche for each one of them.

The period had its ups and downs. Three peak loads are to be noted. The first, in the fifties, coincided with the famine in Ireland and war in Europe. It was followed by the Panic of 1857 and the Civil War, only to build up twice more to the Panics of 1873 and 1882. Periods of increase were periods of harmony and prosperity, but periods of business depression and immigration decrease were marked by waves of antagonism and race hatred. It is interesting to note that the famous "Know-nothing" movement which was aimed chiefly against the Irish in the East, was employed by the Irish in the West against the Chinese. It was an "America for Americans" movement and as such was merely directed against the latest comer, whoever he might be.

During this first period the million mark was attained only in a decade of time; but during the period which followed, it was six times accomplished in a single year. Up to 1900 it fluctuated about the half-million mark, but from then till the World War it soared. The character of immigration also changed. No longer were the immigrants coming from North and West Europe, but from the South and East of Europe. Unskilled laborers predominated. They came from vastly different cultural strains, and with far greater difficulty adapted themselves to the new environment. They filled the slums, congested the cities, did underpaid manual labor, filled almshouses and prisons, and created a serious strain on the charity organizations and the maintenance of order. America began to appreciate the seriousness of her immigration problem. In 1923 President Coolidge wrote:

"American institutions rest solely on good citizenship. They were created by people who had a background of self-government. New arrivals should be limited to our capacity to absorb them into the ranks of good citizenship. America must be kept American. For this purpose it is necessary to continue a policy of restricted immigration. It would be well to make such immigration of a selective nature with some inspection at the source, and based either on a prior census or upon the record of naturalization. Either method would insure the admission of those with the largest capacity and best intention of becoming citizens. I am convinced that our present economic and social conditions warrant the limitation of those to be admitted. We should find additional safety in

a law requiring the immediate registration of aliens. Those who do not want to be partakers of the American spirit ought not to settle in America."

Thus it required a full century for America to appreciate the seriousness of its immigration problem and to take definite steps toward its abatement.

During the past one and a quarter centuries, more than thirty million immigrants, or the equivalent of a quarter of our present population, have entered our country. Allow 1,200 of these individuals to the mile and we have a procession circling the globe. During the year 1910 they entered this country at the rate of nearly five per minute. Every one of these newcomers must be fed, clothed, and housed. If they are allowed to enter, they should be guaranteed equal treatment in industry and the opportunity of becoming respectable, self-supporting members of society. It is as much to the advantage of the United States as it is to their advantage to do so. They are different from ourselves in many respects, but no matter how different, if we admit them, both we and they must look forward to the time when they will be citizens and able to stand in equality and with the right to vote beside the purest colonial blood of the country. We have all too recently discovered that this we have not been doing. We have welcomed the cheap labor which they represented, but deplored their outlandish ways, low standards of living, and teeming undernourished families. We have not realized that they were becoming an integral part of our national life, that they set the standards for large sections of the country, that they often were used for the control of elections, and that they accomplished a virtual transplantation of foreign cultures into our midst. Now we should have no quarrel with such transplantations provided we can assimilate them and select those elements which fit our purposes. We can undoubtedly learn from many nations. What we should avoid is being swamped.

The distribution of the foreign-born has been poor. They have tended either to congest our cities or to congregate in colonies. Their assimilation has not been accomplished. According to the Census of 1920, while 89.7 per cent of our population was white and 76.7 per cent was native white, but 55.3 per cent was native white of parents born in this country. Unfortunately we have no statistics showing the percentage of those whose grandparents were born in this country, but it would undoubtedly be small. So complete has the mixture of nationalities been that the number of Americans who might qualify as biological 100 per-centers is practically negligible.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE AN AMERICAN

From the biological standpoint it means little to be an American. We are already a composite—a heterogeneous mass of crossed and recrossed strains. Socially it means a great deal. Our nation was started with certain very definite ideals in mind. We have not realized all of them, but they still exist as a part of the unfinished business before us. Americans are Americans because of a complicated set of attitudes toward life. These attitudes and social values have been highly responsible for attracting immigrants to our shores. For the most part they represent, in the case of the later accretions, but vague and little-understood longings and aspirations. Our problem is to carry forward the work started by the founders of our Republic—to complete the experiment. The ingestion of great masses of foreigners without thought of digestion has hampered the process. Our first problem is that of calling a halt, either temporary or permanent. This we have done. The second will be that of taking stock of what we are, what the past century of immigration has made us, and, progressing on that basis, of moving forward toward our national aims.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Has it ever occurred to you to leave the United States and become a British subject or a German citizen? Under what conditions might you be tempted to do so? Make a careful study of this situation, trying to place yourself in the position of the foreigner who comes here to become a citizen of the United States.
2. What are the reasons for the absolute exclusion of the yellow races? Is it because they and their civilizations are so inherently inferior or because they are so different?
3. Why do we welcome North European immigration more than we do that coming from the South European countries?

4. Examine an immigration chart and explain the reasons for the high and low points in the graph.
5. Has any country an ethical right to value its own particular brand of civilization so highly as to put into operation a program of foreign exclusion?
6. What would happen to the world under a condition of absolutely unrestricted importation and exportation of goods and of free and unrestricted immigration? Might the result be desirable?
7. Explain immigration in terms of population pressure.
8. How do you explain the enigma that China, a country of terrific population pressure, is not so much of an emigrating nation as Japan?
9. Why have not the Japanese emigrated to China and Manchuria in greater volume? Why do they still knock at our doors?
10. Immigration restriction is only a half measure. How would you suggest solving the world problem of population?
11. What is the composition and character of the population of your immediate community? county? state? Go to the Fourteenth Census Report for this information.

CHAPTER 10

THE PASSING OF THE FRONTIER

The peopling of America through an extraordinary high genetic increase and the most tremendous influx of foreign elements that any people ever experienced has resulted in vast and rapid social and economic changes on this continent. Our own grandfathers were the pioneers who braved the wilderness, fighting their way step by step across mountain, plain, and desert to the promised lands beyond. Men and women now living remember the days of the covered wagon, before the palatial Pullman which now transports us farther between sunrise and sunset than they could travel in a month. What but a short time ago was unbroken wilderness, with grazing buffalo and wandering tribes of savages, now teems with cities, factories, and prosperous farms. A very network of steel and cement ties East and West, North and South together, carrying the never-ending procession of freight and express trains, pleasure cars and trucks which make this country one. Postal and telegraph service extend to the most out-of-the-way places. The farmer enjoys as regular a delivery of mail at his door as does the city-dweller. The radio not only entertains him with everything from grand opera to jazz, but provides him with weather reports and market tips. My grandparents moved from New England to Wisconsin, their sons moved on to the Dakotas, while their sons found opportunity in the Southwest. Horace Greeley's advice, "Go west, young man! Go West!" was heeded by millions. They went West. They grew up with the country. They took advantage of the exceptional opportunities offered them. Free land was to be had for the taking. Rich natural resources were there for the exploiting. The only capital needed was youthful vigor, a clear head, a sound body, and a willingness to work. The world was theirs. All over this country are scattered great fortunes which had their foundation in an unparalleled early opportunity. This was a situation which Malthus and his contemporaries were unable to foresee. But the result was exactly what they would have prognosticated; a tremendous impetus to the growth of population.

But that day has passed. Opportunity is no longer to be had for the asking; to-day it must be made. The frontier has disappeared, and with it free land and unlimited natural resources. The coast has been reached

and already the tide has turned back in the opposite direction. Lands and resources which were neglected or scorned in the first successive waves of advance have been requisitioned by the backwash. The extensive exploitation of the pioneer has been replaced by intensive cultivation and development by his grandchildren and the continuing ripples from the East. They are in a keener competition for the good things of life and, as Malthus foretold, the result has been a necessary decline in the rate of population increase. Families are smaller and now we have taken steps to cut down immigration.

The problem of the past was that of conquering the frontier. The problem of to-day is how to get along without it. It is the problem of adjusting the population to the prospective means of subsistence.

In 1790 the population of the United States, exclusive of outlying territories, was less than four million. The Census of 1920 found it to be more than 105 million, while the Census of 1930 will probably find it very close to 120 million. The rate of increase, however, has been declining. From 1790 to 1800 the rate was 35 per cent, while in 1920 the rate of increase was just under 15 per cent lower than in 1910.

TABLE 10

THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, EXCLUSIVE OF OUTLYING POSSESSIONS,

1790-1920	
<i>Census year</i>	<i>Per cent of increase</i>
1920	14.9
1910	21.0
1900	20.7
1890	25.5
1880	30.1
1870	22.6
1860	35.6
1850	35.9
1840	32.7
1830	33.5
1820	33.1
1810	36.4
1800	35.1
1790	...

Even as late as 1850 the states east of the Mississippi held 91.4 per cent of the total population. By 1920, however, the population had moved Westward to such an extent that now more than 30 per cent live in the Western states. Our first census showed that there were on the average only 4.5 persons to the square mile for a much smaller country than we now

know. A century later an increase of five times that number appeared, and in 1920 there were 35.5 persons to the square mile.

Still another comparison illustrates how rapidly the United States has been settled, and how quickly the population expanded and absorbed the frontier; in 1890 there were on the average 30.2 acres per inhabitant; in 1900 this had been reduced to an average of 25 acres each; in 1910 it showed a further reduction to 20.7 acres; and in 1920 there were but 18 acres per inhabitant. Thus in thirty years the average number of acres per inhabitant had been reduced by 40 per cent.

The abruptness with which the center of population checked its Westward march is another index of the fact that the frontier has been reached and exhausted. Until 1890 the center of population had moved Westward at a rate of from fifty to sixty miles per decade. But during the last thirty years it has moved in all but sixty-three miles, and in the decade from 1910 to 1920 it has moved from Bloomington to Whitehall, Indiana, a distance of less than ten miles.

FACTORS CAUSING THE RAPID PEOPLING OF AMERICA

The first factor causing the rapid peopling of America and the spectacular disappearance of the frontier lies in the working out of the Malthusian principle that population is capable of a geometric rate of increase, but is limited by the means of subsistence. Here we have, in the case of the pre-nineteenth-century population, a highly selected group of the more vigorous and adventurous types. With unlimited land and natural resources before them, it is not strange that their fecundity reached new heights. During the decade 1790 to 1800, as has already been pointed out, the population increased more than 35 per cent or at a rate which resulted in doubling it in twenty-three years; which means more than four doublings to the century. And this was accomplished practically by genetic increase alone. It is "a rate transcending that maintained, so far as is known, over any extensive region for any considerable period of human history." "Here, then, we have for forty years an increase, substantially out of the loins of the four millions of our own people living in 1790, amounting to almost nine millions, or 227 per cent. Such a rate of increase was never known before or since, among any considerable population, over any extensive region."¹ As the original colonists of this country were a selected group from among those vigorous and ambitious enough to brave the dangers of the new land, so each successive wave of Westward migra-

¹ Walker, Francis A. Quoted by Wolfe, A. B., *Readings in Social Problems*, Boston, 1916, p. 322.

tion selected out the same type, and rapid genetic increase quite naturally resulted.

The second factor lies in the volume of immigration. In this case it was not mere numbers who came swelling the tide, but men and women in the prime of life, of the child-bearing age, and bringing with them European large-family traditions. This, coupled with unlimited opportunity, tended to inflate the reproduction rate. Francis A. Walker² contended that the coming of the immigrant had the effect of reducing the native birth-rate, and furthermore that there is evidence to support the contention that the native rate of genetic increase was sufficient before 1820, if maintained, to accomplish all that has been done with the aid of the influx which we have had of more than thirty millions of outsiders. Be this as it may, and there is some serious doubt as to the accuracy of his deductions, the native rate has gone down, while the immigrant rate has remained high, but the net result has been a phenomenal increase in which the foreign-born and their descendants have proven an important factor.

Another factor was the rapid and phenomenal building of railroads. As long as the only means of transportation was a yoke of oxen and a covered wagon the "Westward Ho" was of necessity slow. It was, nevertheless, sure, and it brought the railroads when the time was ripe. The first transcontinental railroad was not completed till 1869, but the years 1870-1890 witnessed the spreading over the entire country of a network of steel rails most of which were laid in the Middle West, the West, and the South. During the decade 1880-1890 more than 70,000 miles of railroad were built. Both the Federal and the state governments gave liberal grants of land to encourage their building and foreign capital flowed into the enterprise in vast sums.

This largely explains how the frontier came to be filled so soon. Thousands of immigrants from North and Central Europe were tagged right through to the rich farm lands of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the other Middle Western and Western states. The Westward movement no longer held the dangers and dread that it held in the days of '49 when the prairie-schooners offered the only mode of transcontinental travel, and the stage-coach and post-rider the only means of communication.

It is but natural, with this phenomenal development of the railroads, that the great agricultural states and the rich natural resources of the country should attract not only from the Eastern states but from across the Atlantic those who were looking for their great chance. With abundant natural resources and with an immense market of great potential pur-

² Walker, F. A., quoted by Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, pp. 321 ff.

chasing power, industrial and commercial cities began to spring into existence like magic. When the free land and the natural resources were all taken up, these cities began to grow, thriving on the industries fed by the rich sources of cheap raw materials and a market that seemed insatiable.

An added factor that hastened the disappearance of the frontier has been the development of large-scale enterprise. In a land of vast reaches, seemingly exhaustless resources, unlimited markets, and a man-power increasing by leaps and bounds, it is not strange that business should be on a large scale and that capital should be abundant and unafraid. Lumbering, mining, and even farming were large-scale enterprises. Corporations were called into being, bringing with them the super-factory with its acres of buildings and thousands of employees. Conservation was an unknown term, for why should "free goods" be conserved? Exploitation was the order of the day. First the soil was mined of its fertility. Soon vast forests became slashings and stump lands. The attack on mineral resources followed. There seemed no end of the good things which Mother Nature showered upon our grandsires. But we are beginning to see that end. The wealth of their generation was largely won from the rightful heritage of the present and of future generations. It is possible that America might have gone further if she had developed less rapidly.

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FRONTIER

The first problem, as indicated above, is that of the criminal exploitation of what should have been the heritage of many future generations. The advance wave of tremendous progress represented nothing so much as the invasion of a looting horde. It swept across the country, robbing both forest and soil of their richest morsels, taking no thought of the future, leaving depletion behind it. Our present problem is one of conservation and of intensive, rather than extensive, development—we *must use efficiently what remains*.

Both immigration and Westward migration were accomplished only through a process of human selection, both physical and spiritual, which have left their mark within the country and on the country as a whole. Up to 1880 the immigrating type, and till well into the sixties, the migrating type were of pioneer caliber. This means that they were vigorous both mentally and physically; they were the bolder and more adventurous spirits, the potential leaders, Ross says, "In the rougher parts of New England to-day one finds old towns that touched their zenith eighty (now 100) years ago. The elite of the young people have regularly migrated, formerly to the West, of late to the rising cities of their own region. Aside from the

aliens that here and there have seeped in, the inhabitants are of the blood of those *who always stayed behind*." He paints a vivid picture of the listlessness of the children and youth of these "fished-out" communities, the shiftlessness of farms and farmers, of villages and villagers, the rarity of intellectual craving in the very place where it once abounded, the disappearance of vigorous community spirit, the languishing of morals, and the deadness to higher things. "The comment of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction upon the classical academies which once flourished in these towns is pertinent. 'Out of these academies went a steady stream of sons and daughters who were, other things being equal, always the strongest of the generation, for otherwise they would not have gained this education. They became lawyers, or physicians, or clergymen, or schoolmasters, or business men in the cities, and the girls went with them prevailing to be their wives. The unambitious, the dull, the unfortunate boys and girls of the old country-side, who could not get to the academy, as a class remained behind and became the dominant stock. And the old academy, having sorted out and sent away the ambitious stock, is now dormant.'" ³ Since these words were written, nearly twenty years ago, other changes have taken place in New England. Aliens in droves have flocked in and taken up the worn-out and deserted farms, intensive market gardening has grown apace, and the net result seems to be a measure of new prosperity and the infusion of new South European elements into the population. Still the bright and ambitious of the native-born are selected out, this time by the lure of the city. Ross continues, "If the moral sag is deepest in certain New England spots, it is only because nowhere else in the North has a rural population been so skimmed and reskimmed. But the thing has a wider range than people suspect. The disfranchisement of seventeen hundred citizens of Adams County, Ohio, for selling their votes lets in a pitiless ray on the dry rot of the lifeless communities that have missed the electrifying touch of railroad or city. The knots of gaping, tobacco-chewing loafers that haunt the railway-station in some parts of Indiana suggest that the natural pace-makers of the neighborhood have moved on to create prosperity elsewhere. In southern Michigan, in Illinois, and even on into Missouri, are communities which remind one of fished-out ponds populated chiefly by bullheads and suckers." ⁴ Twenty years later Professor Ross's observation is still pertinent. In spite of the coming of the automobile, radio, and cinema and the building of cement highways, the process goes on apace. The sorriest sight the Middle West has to offer

³ Ross, E. A., *Changing America*, New York, 1914, p. 151 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156-157.

is that of the hamlets and villages which have lost their reason for existence. One such comes to mind. It was started in the early days by a group of highly cultured New Englanders on the shores of the lovely Lake St. Croix. It was a prosperous port of call for the river steamers plying between St. Paul on the Mississippi and the upper reaches of the St. Croix. Then the railroad came and it looked for a time as though the little village so strategically located was bound to have a future. Then came the decline of the lumber industry, the disappearance of steam craft from the river, and the growth of other centers. The railroad, up to a few years ago, continued to operate a train a day, not because there was anything in it, but because the railroad's charter required it. The academy on the hill now houses a sorry grade school. The social life of the town is gone. A few representatives of the old families remain, but for the most part they have intermarried with the newcomers and their places have been taken by a group who have brought with them a strange tongue and vastly different social values. The little old church is falling into decay, while above it on the hill is a more prosperous one where worship is conducted in another language. The pool-hall, the dance-hall and the blind pig are the main centers of social activity. There are prosperous farms about, but no longer is it a trading center, since the automobile makes it so easy to go to the more pretentious town to the north. And who lives there, and why? Only those who have been caught in the eddy and have not sufficient energy to swim out. Summer folk come from the cities and rusticate for a brief space on The Point across the bay, but they are "dudes" and make little impression on the stagnation of the no longer quaint New England village. The Middle West possesses many such towns, with struggling churches and starving small colleges, mute reminders of a day when the populace was predominantly one of leaders.

We must not conclude, however, that the fishing-out or skimming process was due solely to the Westward movement of the population. A companion to that process was the movement toward the cities. They have been a lodestone which has continued the work. The problem of the present is to revitalize rural life; to make it a life worth living. Perhaps the time may come when it will be the shiftless who will be forced out of the rural districts and the operation of the process of selection will be reversed.

Migration is not an evenly progressing onward rush. It is a succession of waves, and with each wave a reselection of types takes place. For this reason we notice a marked change in energy and attitude as we move from East to West. The sleepy conservatism and fearfulness of taking

a definite step so characteristic of the rural East gives place to the fervent Rotarianism of "God's Country" and of the "Native Sons of the Golden West."

Thus has the disappearance of the frontier accomplished not only the exploitation of our natural resources but the exploitation and redistribution of our human resources as well.

Another point is to be noted. Age and sex groups are also selected. The women, the children and the aged are apt to be left behind, and thus it is that we find in certain sections of our country different age and sex groups predominating. This, however, will be discussed more at length in a later chapter. It is sufficient here to point out the fact that such unequal composition carries with it its very definite social problems.

THE SLACKENING OF EXPANSION

"The public thinks that a great social change can hinge only on some great event; a battle, treaty, law or party struggle. The sociologist, however, knows that among the greatest happenings are the things which do not occur at any particular time or place." The disappearance of the frontier was such a catastrophic change. Its disappearance was such a gradual affair that it was not appreciated till it was all over and readjustment to a new situation was already under way. The American people, who had developed in the presence of unlimited resources and who had developed modes of activity and types of mental attitude in accordance therewith, gradually came to the realization of the fact that the old order had changed and that a new type of struggle for existence faced them. The frontier which had molded them was gone and a new set of factors was in operation. Freedom to move on was a thing of the past, and with it the attitudes which it bred. We see the slackening of expansion in the reduced rate of population increase, the decreasing number of acres per individual, the slowing advance of population and of agricultural production centers, the decreasing expansion of the food-bearing areas, and the increase of land values and of food prices. Between 1870 and 1910 the percentage of increase (by decades) in the number of farms decreased from 50 per cent to 11 per cent; farm acreage, from 31.5 per cent to 5 per cent; improved farm acreage, from 50 per cent to 15.4 per cent; but the value of farm property increased from 36 per cent to 100.5 per cent; and that of farm land, from 37 per cent to 118 per cent.⁵

That America is awake to her problem is evidenced by the vigor of the conservation movement in all quarters. The church, the university,

⁵ Ross, E. A., *The Social Trend*, New York, 1922, pp. 57-58.

business organizations, scientific societies, and the state vie with each other in their study of our new problems: how redeem the country, how make the city a more effective servant of society, how make production the most economical and the most effective, how secure the proper distribution of social opportunity so that no section will suffer? These are the problems which are being attacked. We have had a back-to-the-land movement which was indicative of our temper if it was somewhat hysterical. What we want is not more farms and farmers, but better ones. A most effective Department of Agriculture at Washington, similar bodies in every state capital, and numerous agricultural colleges are making farming a business and a profession. Rural communities and villages are being surveyed and studied to such an extent that they are beginning to regain their confidence in themselves. The sociologist is developing both rural and urban sociology. We are combining as never before to make good the loss of the frontier.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What motives prompted the settling of the frontier?
2. Trace the relationship existing between modes of transportation as they developed and the process of peopling the frontier.
3. Who moved West and why? Who remained behind?
4. Discuss the respective characters of the old and new communities as the result of this selective process.
5. Describe the conditions which made it possible for the young man of a couple of generations ago to marry early and be economically independent before he was twenty-five.
6. What is the price of the tremendous prosperity of the last generation?
7. Did the last generation produce a larger number of "self-made men" than the present generation is producing? Why? What is a "self-made man"? Is he a product of an environment or of an inherent quality?

8. How do you account for the large number of small denominational colleges scattered about through the Middle West? What part did they play in the development of the West? What is their future contribution?
 9. Is the "back-to-the-land" program sociologically a sound one? How would you restate the program?
 10. What are the chief sources of intellectual vigor of the Middle West? of its intellectual faults?
 11. Compare the present social attitudes of the East and the West; of the North and the South.
 12. On a map of the United States trace the Westward progress of the center of population. (See United States Census for data.)
 13. Outline the changing economic complexion of your state during the past 100 years; the dominant occupation; the composition of the population.
- Answer*

CHAPTER II

THE COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE SOCIAL POPULATION

The composition and distribution of the social population is not a simple problem: it is infinitely complex. Viewed from a distance, populations present a remarkable dead level of similarity. They are human beings, male and female, old and young, pigmented and unpigmented. They are like a regiment on parade. As viewed from the reviewing stand, the regiment looks like a throng of duplicates. Functioning as a group they are of interest, but one has the feeling that they would be monotonous as individuals. Each soldier is similarly uniformed and equipped, he carries himself rigidly erect, keeps step, and acts in unison with all the others. We know, however, that in spite of careful selection and training, each soldier is an individual. Taken in their own setting and in clothes of their own choice, there are vast differences in temperament, ideals, habits, and mental and physical characteristics between one and another. They come from widely varying environments; they possess different aptitudes, likes, and dislikes; and they represent unlike problems to their officers. Notice again a group of students in a class. They have been selected out of the population at large because of their similarity in respect to educability. They come very largely from the same social class in society. They hope to qualify for professional work of some sort. They are in the same age group and are living much the same daily round of life. Here we should have almost the maximum of similarity, but still great differences exist. Each has a dominant interest, a type of mind, a degree of physical energy, an amount of mental ability, and certain social values.

When populations are subjected to closer scrutiny, we find that their differences extend far beyond the more obvious age, sex, and color variations; that they are varicolored mosaics forming a large variety of patterns. *On the composition of the social population depends, to a remarkable extent, the social characteristics of the group.*

Distribution is the companion problem of composition. Not only do we find marked variations, but we find types of variation predominating in given communities. Similarly, while we speak of our estimated popula-

tion of nearly 120 million and of our continental land area of more than three million square miles, we are faced with the fact that this population is very unequally scattered. In 1920 our density of population was 35.5 to the square mile. To-day it is nearer 40, but this means little when we consider that densities in the various states, as reported in the last census, varied from .7 in Nevada to 566.4 in Rhode Island. In the Mountain states (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada) there was but one individual to each 164.8 acres of land, while in the Middle Atlantic states (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) there was an individual for every 2.9 acres. Thus the distribution of individuals stood in a ratio of better than 50 to 1 in the two areas. Excluding the Middle Atlantic area with its Greater New York congestion, we find that the New England states could show but 5.4 acres per individual, which represents a 30 to 1 comparison with the Mountain states. *Not only the distribution of types but the physical proximity in which people live is a determiner of group attitudes and activities.*

COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION VARIATIONS

Populations are made up, first of all, of males and females, old and young, married and unmarried, native and foreign. The Abstract of the *Fourteenth Census* (1920) presents the composition and characteristics of the population of the United States under the following heads: color or race, nativity and parentage, sex and age distribution, marital condition, state of birth of native population, country of birth, year of immigration, citizenship, mother-tongue and ability of foreign population to speak English, school attendance, illiteracy, dwellings and families, and ownership of homes. This is a magnificent attempt, but it does not cover the field. Indeed it might be added that sociologists have not yet discovered and classified all of the differences entering into the composition of the population. But it is certain that we would have to include the rich and the poor, privileged and under-privileged, ambitious and shiftless, energetic and lazy, normal and defective, intelligent and subnormal, and so on almost indefinitely. Almost in a class by itself would also have to be considered the subject of occupation: whether occupied or not, gainfully occupied or not, and type of occupation.

The problems of distribution, while connected with the above distribution of types, are mainly concerned with geographical variations in density and our very modern problem of the shift which is taking place from the rural to the urban communities.

WHENCE COME THESE VARIATIONS?

It has been said that the most invariable thing about heredity is variation. These differences, which are so important when we consider the fact that they determine the complexion of group life, are the results of biological, physical, and social inheritance. Certain variations are conditioned at birth and are independent of geographical location, social status, physical condition, or any environmental factors whatsoever. Other variations are produced after birth and are the result of the reaction of the developing human organism to the forces which play upon it from the outside. The forces making the individual what he is are myriad. They are a complex combination of acting and reacting factors, and the possible results are infinite. The biologist assures us that nature produces no duplicates. The sociologist is sure of the fact. He sees individuals brought up in seemingly identical environments, and born of the same parents, developing vastly different personalities. Climate and soil determine the general trend of development of the population of an area. They determine the limits of population increase, the limits of the standard of living, the range of occupational choice, and the extent of social opportunity. The social environment, including cultural, economic, religious, and political factors, determines the social values which are the basis of social life. They furnish the medium in which individuals may grow and develop. A New England farm, the Western wheat country, a slum, a restricted suburb, a manufacturing city, a college town, the Kentucky mountains, the blue-grass region, the North, the South, the East, and the West represent far more than mere geographical locations. They are of more sociological significance than their different types of architecture and occupation alone would indicate. They are centers of social variation. They both attract and produce types.

Sex is as yet a self-adjusting biological phenomenon. Race, physique, temperament, and mentality have their biological bases. Nationality is a socio-psychological fact usually based on a race foundation. One's race is fixed for life, but he may change his nationality through expatriation. Our various Americanization programs are attempts to accomplish this very thing in the case of our immigrants. The original mental endowment may be developed to the full extent of its latent powers through education, or it may be allowed to stagnate. Physique, temperament, and vitality may be changed, or adjusted to the environment in which they find themselves implanted. Occupation, social status, and marital condition are largely determined by the social, economic, religious, and political heritage of

the group. A social situation which demands that one either follow the occupation and activities of his father, or limit himself to the occupations and activities of his class or caste will affect his range of choice and possible development. An economic or political system may predestine one to wealth, position, and social opportunity or to poverty, submissiveness, and stagnation. Not only do individuals vary, but marked variations are evident between races, nations, and the groups composing nations.

SEX COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION

Nature has so arranged matters for us that in general from 104 to 106 males are produced to each 100 females. This ratio is called the masculinity rate. Males are produced slightly in excess of females, perhaps to even matters up by the time reproductive maturity has been reached. Nature seems also to take other factors into account, for we observe variations in the masculinity rate with varying social conditions. There seems to be evidence that the proportion of male infants born increases after great wars. Nature seems to be recouping her prospective fighters. There

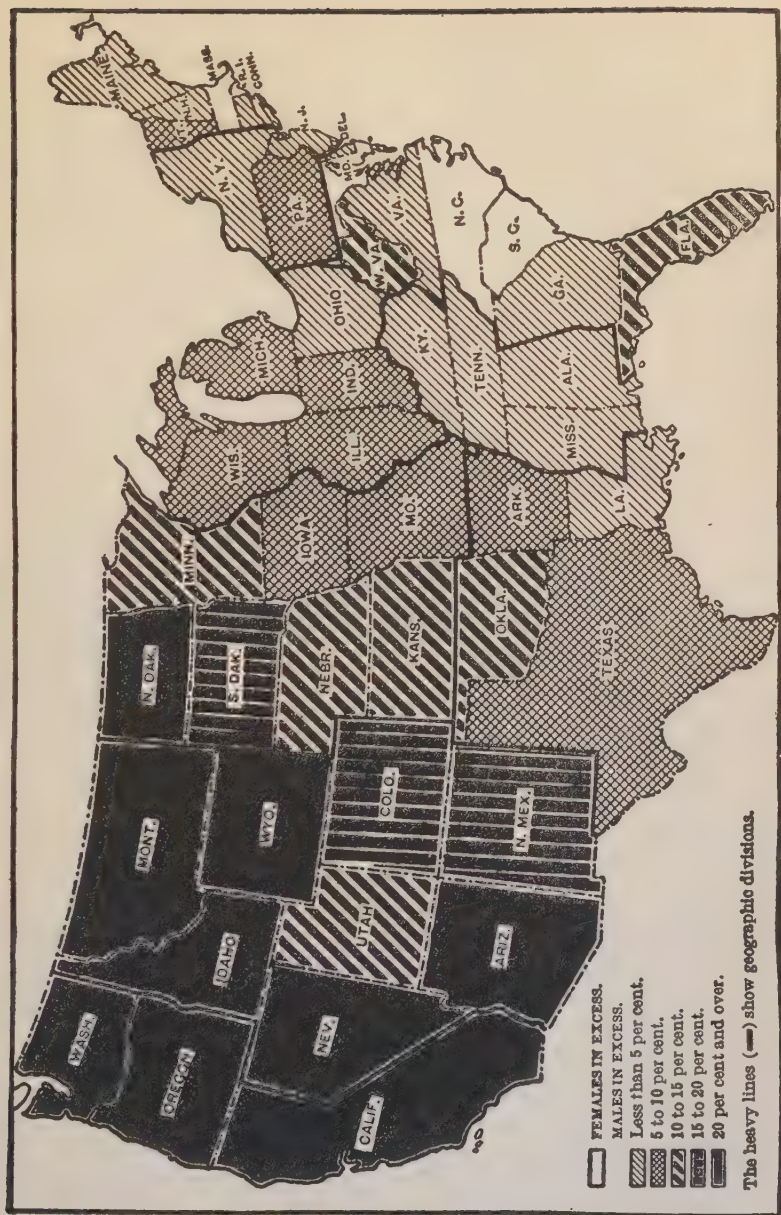
TABLE II

RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES, FOR WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION, BY DIVISIONS: 1920 AND 1910 *

<i>Division and state</i>	<i>Total population</i>		<i>White</i>		<i>Negro</i>	
	<i>Males to 100 females</i>		<i>Males to 100 females</i>		<i>Males to 100 females</i>	
	<i>1920</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1910</i>
United States.....	104.0	106.0	104.4	106.6	99.2	98.9
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS						
New England	98.5	99.5	98.4	99.2	103.2	97.8
Middle Atlantic	101.4	103.3	101.3	103.4	100.7	94.9
East North Central	105.7	106.0	105.5	106.0	113.0	108.3
West North Central	106.1	109.9	106.1	109.9	106.7	107.8
South Atlantic	101.2	101.2	102.9	103.2	97.3	97.5
East South Central	101.1	101.9	102.7	103.6	97.2	98.4
West South Central	105.8	107.2	107.5	109.3	99.5	100.4
Mountain	115.7	127.9	114.9	127.4	178.1	121.3
Pacific	113.9	129.5	112.1	125.4	109.6	120.4

* *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington.

FIGURE 12
RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY STATES: 1910 *



* *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington. District of Columbia, females in excess, not shown separately on the map.

is also evidence that the masculinity rate is higher in rural than in urban populations and that among the well-to-do classes female births sometimes even outnumber male births. The reason for this is not clear, since the social situation seems to further complicate matters by drawing away from the rural districts a larger proportion of females than of males. Be this as it may, from both the biological and social standpoints it is desirable to have an equal distribution of the sexes at maturity. The best interests of society demand it. Yet the world over we find the widest variations actually existing. In China female infants are not wanted. When and where infanticide is practiced it is on the girl babies and not on the boys. Still we have polygamy widely practised. In the United States in 1910 there were four states which showed, as the effect of distribution and not of excess of births, more females than males in the total population. At the same time there were nine states in which the males were at least 20 per cent in excess of the females. In the case of Nevada the excess was

TABLE 12

RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES, 1920 AND 1910, FOR THE WHITE POPULATION
BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, BY DIVISIONS *

Division and state	Native White						Foreign-Born White	
	Native parentage		Foreign parentage		Mixed parentage		Males to 100 females	
	Males to 100 females		Males to 100 females		Males to 100 females			
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
United States	103.0	104.0	99.1	100.0	97.7	98.5	121.7	129.2
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS								
New England	98.2	98.1	96.3	96.3	94.8	95.2	102.3	104.8
Middle Atlantic	98.9	98.9	97.1	97.1	94.3	94.9	114.1	120.9
East North Central ...	103.3	102.9	99.4	99.1	98.0	97.7	128.0	131.3
West North Central ..	103.9	106.6	102.5	104.3	100.9	101.6	131.4	141.3
South Atlantic	102.0	102.1	99.6	98.1	96.1	96.9	141.6	146.9
East South Central ...	102.7	103.5	92.1	93.8	94.3	95.6	141.0	139.2
West South Central ..	106.4	108.2	104.3	105.8	103.5	104.2	131.3	138.8
Mountain	111.5	119.8	108.0	115.2	104.3	109.0	149.2	189.6
Pacific	107.1	117.4	101.7	108.4	98.9	104.2	148.2	181.9

* *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington.

79.2 per cent. It is further interesting to note that each of the first group of states bordered on the Atlantic and that all of the second group bordered on and were adjacent to the Pacific. By 1920 the situation had changed. There were then six states in the first group, still either on the Atlantic or on the Gulf of Mexico, while there were but four in the second group, and these were in the Mountain group of states. Nevada was still among them, still leading in masculinity, but her percentage of excess had been reduced from 79.2 per cent to 48.4 per cent. For the country as a whole there were in 1920 104 males to each 100 females. In New England there were but 98.5 males to each 100 females, but as we move west the ratio increases till it reaches its maximum (115.7) in the Mountain states. In the Pacific states it was 113.9.

The ratio between males and females is further found to vary with predominant industry or occupation, nationality composition, and density of population. Among the foreign-born whites in the United States in 1920 it was 121.7 as against 103.0 for native whites of native parentage. The Chinese rate was 695.5, but among the negroes the females were slightly in excess.

In 1920 the rate in the rural sections of the country was 108.0, but it was only 100.4 in the urban. Of seventy-five cities with populations of 100,000 or more but thirty-one had more males than females and these cities are predominantly either heavy industrial or Western. It is interesting further to note that in these same seventy-five cities there were only six in which foreign-born males did not greatly exceed foreign-born females in number.

In the older and longer-established countries, other things being equal, we are apt to find an even distribution of the sexes; while among new, growing and dynamic populations the balance is more likely to be seriously disturbed. Pioneers need their women folk, but they need also an excess of men. The hard work of the lumber camp precludes the presence of women. Women are less necessary on farms than men, and hence we find them flocking to the cities to take advantage in office and shop of the abundant opportunities there to be had. Some areas, activities, and cities attract a preponderance of one sex and some the other. In Troy, New York, where collars are made, the rate is but 84.7, while in Akron, Ohio, famed for its rubber industry, it is 138.9. In migratory movements men predominate over women.

Ross says, "Less hedged about than women, men are readier to break home ties and try their fortune in a strange land. In our earlier immigration males were to females as three is to two; but in the new immigration,

TABLE 13
RATIO OF MALES TO FEMALES, 1920 AND 1910, FOR POPULATION CLASSES IN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES
AND IN EACH CLASS OF URBAN PLACES*

Class of population	RURAL	URBAN	PLACES HAVING A POPULATION OF					
	Males to 100 females	Males to 100 females	2,500 to 10,000	10,000 to 25,000	25,000 to 100,000	100,000 to 500,000	500,000 and over	
			Males to 100 females	Males to 100 females	Males to 100 females	Males to 100 females	Males to 100 females	
	1920 1910	1920 1910	1920 1910	1920 1910	1920 1910	1920 1910	1920 1910	
Total	108.0 109.8	100.4 101.7	99.5 101.8	100.0 102.0	100.0 101.4	99.7 103.1	101.7 100.7	
White	109.0 111.0	100.5 102.1	99.9 102.6	100.3 102.7	100.3 102.1	99.9 103.3	101.5 100.8	
Negro	101.2 102.1	95.4 90.7	92.3 90.6	93.9 90.3	94.7 90.7	94.5 90.4	101.3 91.8	
Ind., Chi., Jap., and all other.	126.6 140.3	276.9 573.0	207.1 389.2	239.3 372.8	266.1 681.2	296.2 654.1	325.8 1,146.9	
Native white	106.7 107.1	96.9 97.3	97.0 97.5	96.8 97.1	96.8 97.5	96.2 98.0	97.4 96.4	
Native parentage	106.3 106.7	98.6 99.3	97.8 98.4	98.1 98.7	98.5 99.6	98.7 101.6	99.8 98.1	
Foreign or mixed parentage	109.2 109.3	94.3 94.5	94.8 95.1	94.0 93.8	93.7 94.1	92.3 93.7	95.5 95.3	
Foreign parentage	110.4 110.9	95.0 95.1	95.7 96.0	94.8 94.6	94.5 94.8	92.9 93.9	96.1 95.7	
Mixed parentage	107.2 106.6	92.5 93.2	93.1 93.3	92.2 92.2	91.9 92.5	91.1 93.1	93.6 94.1	
Foreign-born white	141.8 159.7	115.9 119.0	123.4 137.1	122.4 131.1	117.4 120.2	117.6 122.2	111.8 109.6	

* *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington.

coming for high wages rather than for land, they are three to one. Districts which have lost by emigration have more women than men." This is true of the countries which have furnished us with our millions of immigrants. It is true of the "fished-out" areas which furnished the material for the peopling of our West. And what are the effects of this disturbance of the balance between the sexes? Either male or female traits will predominate. In either case, a superabundance of bachelors or a superabundance of maiden ladies, normal social organization is impossible. We have no striking examples of predominantly female communities, but the Western frontier has shown us what to expect when men are unbound by home ties. Such populations are in a constant state of flux. They are restless and unsettled, they are prone to quick and ruthless exploitation in order to "get back home" to "God's country." Law and social restraints are weak and morals are low, though vices are apt to be the open and aboveboard vices of strong men rather than the petty ones of weaklings. But "women make homes and the home favors stability and the sense of responsibility."

AGE COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION

Civilizations, nations and communities vary in age and are affected thereby much as individuals are. Young communities are apt to be active, dynamic, and pushing, while older ones move more slowly and are more conservative and "settled-down." Communities also vary as to the predominant age of the individuals composing them. Just as communities may be predominantly male or female, so they may be made up of an undue proportion of the old or the young or the middle-aged. Older communities having little contact with the outside world are apt to possess a normal distribution of the various age groups, but young, dynamic, and active communities frequently give evidence of a more or less serious disturbance of the balance.

The age distribution of a community is affected both from within and from without. We may visualize the age distribution within a population by means of a pyramid composed of layers. Each layer represents a given age group. Naturally, the bottom layer, representing the first or youngest group, will be the largest, while at the top will be the smallest layer, representing the oldest group or the final survivors. But there is wide divergence between these pyramids. They may be steep or gently sloping. Their sides may be curved, regular or irregular. It is possible even for the bottom layer to be smaller than the middle provided it is a community composed of many new arrivals from the outside.

Age distribution is affected from within by all the factors which affect the marriage rate, age at marriage, the birth-rate, and the various mortality rates. Numerous births and early and numerous deaths will result in the flattening-out of the pyramid, while smaller families and longer lives will make it steep.

The factors which bring about migration from one area to another result in making the pyramid irregular and unbalanced. Just as cities attract more women than men, so they attract people in early maturity. "Fished-out" communities lose not only their men, but those in the flush of life.

Table 14 illustrates the difference which may exist between two periods. It represents the age distribution by ten-year groupings of the population of the United States in 1920 and 1860. Note the different character of the slopes.

TABLE 14

<i>Age group</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1860</i>
80 +		
70-79..xx		x
60-69..xxxxx		xxx
50-59..xxxxxxxx		xxxxx
40-49..xxxxxxxxxxxx		xxxxxxxx
30-39..xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx		xxxxxxxxxxxx
20-29..xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx		xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
10-19..xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx		xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
10—..xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx		xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Table 15 illustrates what happens when migration takes place. It shows the distribution of the foreign-born population in the United States in 1910 by sex and by ten-year periods.

TABLE 15 *

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Per cent of total</i>		
70-79...x—o		x = 1.3%	o = 1.2%
60-69...xxxx—oooo		4.4	3.9
50-59...xxxxxxxx—ooooo		6.7	5.3
40-49...xxxxxxxxxxx—ooooo		10.5	7.8
30-39...xxxxxxxxxxxxx—ooooo		12.3	9.1
20-29...xxxxxxxxxxxxxx—ooooo		13.6	9.5
10-19...xxxx—oooo		4.0	3.7
10 —...xx—oo		1.5	1.5

* x = male, o = female.

Let us now compare (Table 16) the age distribution of the country as a whole in 1920 with two of its parts, the New England and the Mountain groups of states.

TABLE 16

<i>Age group</i>	PER CENT		
	<i>United States</i>	<i>New England</i>	<i>Mountain</i>
Under 5 Years.....	10.9	10.2	11.9
5 to 14 Years.....	20.8	18.3	21.3
15 to 24 Years.....	17.7	16.3	16.9
25 to 34 Years.....	16.2	16.4	16.9
35 to 44 Years.....	13.4	14.1	13.8
45 to 54 Years.....	9.9	11.4	9.5
55 to 64 Years.....	6.2	7.3	5.7
65 Years and Over.....	4.7	5.8	3.6

It will be seen that New England is short on children, due to a lower birth-rate, while the Mountain states show evidence of more rapid genetic increase. In the later period of life, however, the Mountain states are short and New England is well above the average for the country.

Similarly we may compare the age distribution of rural and urban areas in the United States in 1920 (Table 17).

TABLE 17

<i>Age group</i>	PER CENT	
	<i>Urban population</i>	<i>Rural population</i>
Under 5 Years.....	9.7	12.3
5 to 9 Years.....	9.3	12.3
10 to 14 Years.....	8.6	11.6
15 to 19 Years.....	8.2	9.7
20 to 44 Years.....	42.7	33.8
45 Years and Over.....	21.3	20.2

Here we see a surplus of children in the rural population and a surplus of those in the middle period of life in the urban. There is approximately a 9 per cent difference in either case. This is an amount which is of real significance in the resulting social organization of the two types of area.

Ross remarks that "age composition may reflect itself very clearly in the collective spirit. The community with a large proportion in the early productive years, *e.g.*, young and rapidly growing settlements and towns, displays unusual fluidity, energy, initiative and adaptability. On the other hand, an excess of young children and of the elderly lessens venturesomeness and makes for pessimism, timidity, and the want of prompt decision."

RACE AND NATIONALITY COMPOSITION AND DISTRIBUTION

In considering race and nationality composition, the fact must be recognized that primarily they rest on different foundations. Race is a biological fact. We most commonly distinguish between races by color, which is their most evident distinguishing feature, but more scientifically by a large group of physiological variations, such as color, cephalic index, cross-section of the hair, and facial angle. Nationality is a social fact. A given nationality may belong to one racial group or another, but it is distinguished as such by its social inheritance in language, religion, government, and other social institutions in general. It would be difficult to determine how many nationalities there are on the face of the earth, since political affiliations are continually changing. Is China, for instance, one nation or a loosely coördinated group of eighteen or more? Racially the problem is also difficult, but we may say roughly that of the estimated 1,747,000,000 of the world's population, 51.2 per cent are white, 37 per cent are yellow, 8 per cent are black, 2.2 per cent are brown, and 1.6 per cent are red. Thus more than half of the inhabitants of this globe are white, racially; but not all of them look white to the eye, since many of them come from climates which have tinged the skin. The Aryan whites are located chiefly in Europe, America, Persia, India, and Australia. In addition to these are the widely scattered Semites, who are also white.

There is little reason for discussing the problem of racial superiority. Each race seems to be superior for the environment for and within which it was selected. When we seem to have proven "Nordic superiority," we must carefully inquire how much Nordic (nationalistic) bias has entered into the process. Nationalistic superiority presents a different problem. It is the problem of civilization and social institutions and the efficiency with which they function. Thus while the Guinea negro may be superior for physical survival in the tropics to the Englishman in the same environment, certain it is that his social organization is of a far inferior type. Nationalistic or social differences and grades are also far greater in number and social significance than are those which are purely biological and hence racial.

The history of the world has been one of racial and national contacts and combinations but, with a few exceptions, most nations to-day represent one predominant racial and national strain. The United States is the most outstanding exception to the rule. It presents one of the most complex large-scale ventures in combination that the world has yet seen.

Racially the United States is fully 10 per cent colored. One-tenth of its population belongs to races of such marked difference that full social co-operation is impossible. Moreover, our colored elements are not equally distributed. The yellow races are more or less concentrated on the Pacific coast and the blacks in the South. In the Black Belt we find the percentage of negroes in the total population varying from more than 50 in Mississippi and South Carolina to 15.9 in Texas. In eight of our states the population is 30 per cent or more black. We call attention to this fact not because the negroes and Mongolians are inferior, but because the mere physical difference existing between them and ourselves makes full social coördination practically impossible. They represent elements injected into the body politic which, while *in* it, are not *of* it.

The United States Bureau of the Census has made the practice of dividing our population into native white of native parentage, native white of mixed parentage, native white of foreign parentage, foreign-born white, and colored.

There are not many nations which would find it worth while to enumerate their populations under these divisions. The mass of their populations would fall under the first head and "native white (black, or yellow) of native parentage" would imply a long succession of generations of such parentage. In America it is a distinction to be able to trace one's ancestors back to the American Revolution or to the landing of the "Mayflower." In England the Norman Conquest takes the place of these events. In China one may trace his ancestry back to the time of Christ or before. I asked a student once how old his family was. He hesitated, and replied that he did not like to say, since his family was so new. I insisted. I wanted to know how old a "new" family was. He admitted a paltry 500 years of continuous family existence. In comparing our country with other countries it is startling to learn that 65.3 per cent of our entire population is native and of native parentage, but it is even more astonishing to learn that but 55.3 per cent is native white of native parentage. *But what does native white of native parentage mean?* Not a native ancestry for 500 years, or even 100 years, but for one generation, or about twenty-five years. A person's grandparents may have been born in Germany, later settling in Milwaukee where their children were born and brought up amid German customs and traditions. He (the grandson) may attend a German Lutheran church and speak German familiarly with his friends and English but brokenly, but, for the purposes of the United States Census, he is a native white of native parentage.

TABLE 18*

SHOWS THE COMPLEX RACE, NATIVITY, AND PARENTAGE COMPOSITION OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1920

<i>Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Total population	105,710,620	100
Color or race		
White	94,820,915	89.7
Negro	10,463,131	9.9
Indian	244,437	0.2
Japanese	111,010	0.1
Chinese	61,639	0.1
All other	9,488	
Nativity		
Native-born	91,789,928	86.8
Foreign-born	13,920,692	13.2
Native white		
Total	81,108,161	76.7
of native parentage	58,421,957	55.3
of foreign parentage	15,694,539	14.8
of mixed parentage	6,991,665	6.6
Foreign-born white	13,712,754	13.0

* *Abstract, Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington.

Consider from Figures 13 and 14, the difficulty faced by a country which is composed of such widely divergent elements. It is a fact that immigration seldom brings either the super-representatives from the contributing countries or even an average or a cross-section. But if our immigration had been made up of a higher grade of social stock than it has, we would still have a most serious problem on our hands: the problem of making a coherent whole out of most heterogeneous materials.

OTHER FACTORS

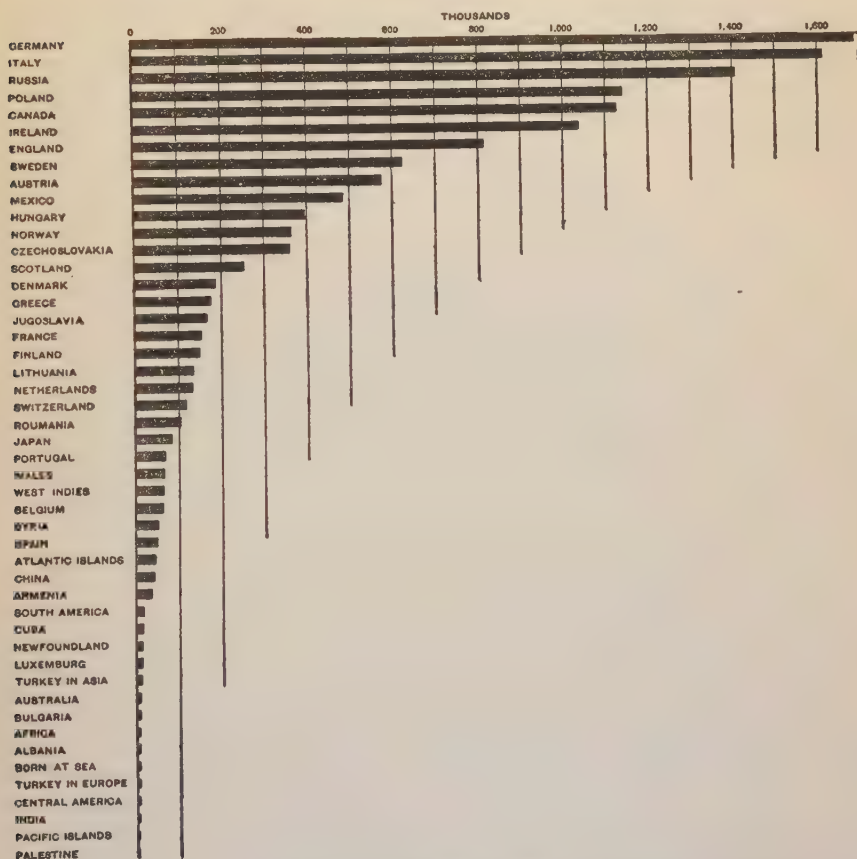
Lack of space prevents the complete discussion of all, even of the important, factors entering into this very complex problem of the composition and distribution of the social population. In the end we will have succeeded in little more than indicating the character of the problem and its special intensity in the United States.

In the chapters which have preceded we have suggested the problem of density distribution and its effect on the social life. A part of this problem is the ratio existing between our *rural and urban* populations. In the

Census of 1920 it was discovered that the urbanization of the United States had proceeded to such a point that now more than half of our population dwells in incorporated places of 2,500 or more inhabitants. In 1880 some

FIGURE 13

FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH:
1920 *



* *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington.

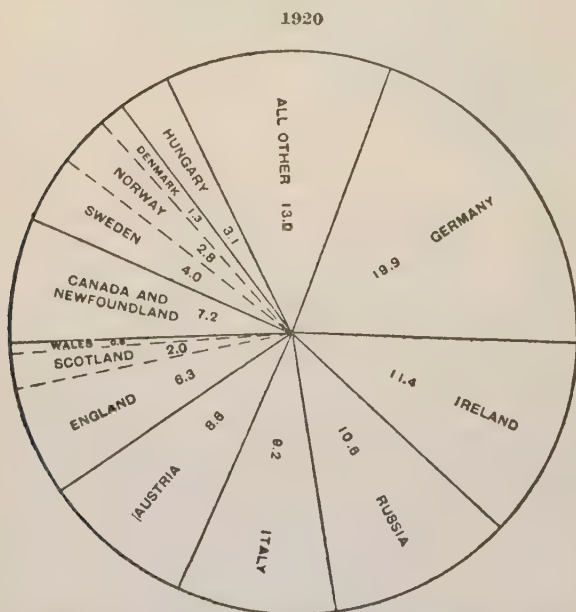
70 per cent of the population was rural. In 1920 43.8 per cent of our population lived in places of 8,000 or more; while in 1820, a century earlier, there were but thirteen cities of that size in the United States, and in them lived but 4.9 per cent of our population. In the growth of

our population we are rapidly becoming a nation of city-dwellers and this is vitally affecting the character and quality of our social life.

Marital condition is an important composition fact. The prevailing impression is that, with the high cost of living and the advancing standard of living, there has come an indefinite postponement of marriage and an increase in the proportion of our voluntary celibates. The fact is, however,

FIGURE 14

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN WHITE STOCK BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN *



* *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington.

as Ross so aptly puts it, that not only are Americans "one of the most married peoples on the face of the earth," but "their fondness for the conjugal state seems to be increasing." In 1890, 58.3 per cent of the men and 68.2 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age were or had been married. By 1920 the percentages for these two groups had increased to 64.9 and 72.7 respectively. Moreover, this high percentage of marriage does not seem to be due to the influence of an influx of immigrants with early-marriage traditions. In 1920, among native whites of

native parents, the percentage for men was just 0.4 lower than the above 64.9 for all classes; and for women it was but 3.5 less.

TABLE 19

PER CENT OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE OR OVER, BY CLASSES, WHO WERE OF HAD BEEN MARRIED: 1920 *

<i>Class</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
All classes	64.9%	72.7%
All whites	64.7	72.3
Negro	67.4	75.9
Native white of native parents	64.5	69.2
Native white of mixed parentage	54.1	61.9
Foreign-born whites	74.4	85.9

* *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (1920), United States Bureau of the Census, Washington.

It is also interesting to note that rural communities are more married than urban communities, that the South is more married than the North, and that the East is more married than the West. It is highly favorable to find such a high percentage of marriage in general, but it is unfortunate that 70.7 per cent of all males twenty to twenty-five years of age are still single and 45.6 per cent of the females. We have advanced the age of marriage, but in time we *do* get married.

Our *illegitimacy* rate is much lower than that of Europe, and may reflect our proneness to marry or our resort to contraceptives. It is higher in the South than in the North, and in the East than in the West. Among the negroes it is far in excess of that among the whites.

With regard to *illiteracy*, the showing of the United States is excellent in comparison with some countries and a national disgrace when compared with others. Naturally the influx of tremendous numbers of foreigners and the possession of a vast mass of underprivileged negroes affects the rate adversely. Nevertheless, since they are here, their degree of illiteracy affects that of the whole body. While the amount varies widely with geographical location, nativity, color, occupation, and class, we had reported in 1920 6 per cent of illiteracy among those ten years of age and over. For those of native parentage it was but 2.5 per cent, but for the foreign-born it was 13.1 per cent, and for negroes, 22.9 per cent. It was higher also among rural than among urban populations. "But," comments E. A. Ross, "these figures, originating with the heads of families interested in not confessing the truth, are no good. They are further invalidated by the revelations of the training camps. In 1917 24 per cent of the men 21 to 31 years of age could not write a letter home." Very well, so much the worse!

Finally what about the composition of the population with regard to its *quality*? No problem could be more difficult to handle, due to the fact that we have as yet no adequate measures of quality and the census helps us very little. On the one hand we are a nation which is going to school as never before, but on the other, an alarming proportion of our youth are dropping out as soon as (and often sooner than) the law allows. We do not know how many of these are forced out by economic necessity and how many are the unfits for whom an education is an impossibility. Certain it is that the number of our low-grade and defective mentalities is alarmingly high. This subject will be treated more at length in another chapter.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Explain how it is that the character of the group depends somewhat on its composition.
2. How does the distribution of the social population affect its character?
3. In what manner has foreign immigration changed the composition of the population of the United States?
4. Where have immigrants predominantly settled and why?
5. Where might one find predominantly male communities and what would be the characteristics of such communities?
6. Have we any predominantly female communities? What caused them to become such and what might their characteristics be?
7. What are the age characteristics of the city? of the country? What is the result?
8. What is the relation between the problem of the "melting-pot" and the problem of composition?
9. What is a "native white of native parentage" and how many of them have we in the United States?
10. What great change has been taking place in the urban-rural ratio in the United States? What is the significance of the trend?
11. Compare the available census data for the City of Troy, New York, with those of Detroit, Michigan. What important composition differences are evident?
12. Compare census data for a typical New England county, a Middle Western county, and one on the Pacific coast.
13. What was the racial composition of the United States according to the last Census? nationality composition?

CHAPTER 12

THE PROBLEM OF QUALITY

National welfare, as we have already seen, does not consist in the mere numbers of the social population, but in the quality of the individuals composing it as well. The quality of these individuals depends in part on their training and on the social and physical environment within which they develop. It depends in part also on their heredity; on the inborn traits and characteristics which predetermine how much or how little training and environment can make of them. These two determiners, environment and heredity, make the individual what he is. The study of the first set of factors is called *euthenics*, and the study of the second, *eugenics*. Children are born into the world who are normal or defective, healthy or ailing; some are abounding in vitality and very active, while others are weaklings. Just as we find them born to be tall or short, rosy or swarthy, so we find a group of mental differences. Some are always dull no matter what advantages surround them, and others are quick-witted and keen even if unschooled. We may notice also a great number of special aptitudes for some particular type of work or mental activity, but it is difficult to assign these definitely to heredity, in spite of the fact that it may be impossible to discover anything in the environment which has produced them.

Children are not merely born into the world in general, but each into a particular environment. The content of his mind, his training for life, his habits and attitudes, and even his physical health and vigor are either determined or limited by the environment. Seeds sown in stony and in fertile soil develop differently. So it is with children. Type environments, such as city and village, town and open country, villa and hovel, tenement district and restricted residential suburb, leave their imprint on the unfolding human organism.

HEREDITY OR ENVIRONMENT, WHICH?

There can be no question that heredity and environment working together make the individual what he is. But which is the predominant force? Which plays the more important rôle? This question has been argued interminably but to no avail. Naturally the biologist sees the importance of heredity, while the professional social worker, who is mainly

interested in improving environments, answers the question in the light of the fruits of his work. The sociologist doubts that the question can as yet be answered. He carefully avoids a bias in either direction. The two forces work together inextricably. Each is necessary to the other; each is incomplete without the other. He refuses to waste his time defending either against the other. He demands, however, that each be fully recognized. The old illustration of the potter and the clay well serves us here. It requires good clay and a good potter to make the finest porcelains. Clays are of various grades. Some are good only for the most clumsy jars, while others are suitable for the finest vases. Potters have varying degrees of skill. If a skilled potter is given poor clay to work with, we may expect only as good a product as can be made with the material. If the best clay is placed in the hands of a clumsy potter, we will likewise merely get the best job that he can do. Heredity is the clay. It is the basic material with which the potter (environment) has to work. Good heredity and good environment make the best combination, but either is handicapped by a deficiency in the other, and neither can completely triumph over the other. We can merely say that the basis of individuality is in the inherent quality of the individual and that this is played upon by stimuli supplied by the environment, the finished product being thus produced. To produce a fine vessel we must start with good material, but it must be worked upon by a skilled potter as well. And which of the two is really responsible for the excellence of the finished product? To answer is to argue in a circle.

A childhood playmate of the writer's seemed to have an insatiable desire to draw pictures. Her heredity was good but not exceptional. Neither of her parents were artistically inclined and there was little enough in the small-village environment to either call forth or develop the trait. Still, she was made of the clay of which artists are made, her parents were sympathetic, and the village encouraged her. She was sent to one of the best art schools and to-day is on the road to fame as an artist. The son of an eminent father and of a mother of exceptional talent has played the violin since he was large enough to hold the instrument. To-day he is one of the well-known artists in his field. His heredity is of the best and the environment in which he was reared furnished every stimulus toward the development of his talent. Which did it? Heredity or environment? The answer is, undoubtedly both. We may hear of exceptional talent coming from the slums and exceptional failures coming from seemingly the best of environments. We see the best heredity producing scrubs and wonders done despite what looks like the worst heredity. We cannot afford to be dogmatic as yet. We are made by our heredity plus our environment and

it behooves us, if we are interested in the quality of the human race, to study the means for the improvement of both.

THE THREEFOLD NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The quality of any given population, whether it be a race, a nation, or a section, depends on the above two determiners and one additional factor. First, what sort of people are we breeding? What is the general heredity of the stock from which they spring? Are we breeding in the main from the scrubs in the stock or are the superior elements contributing their full share? Second, what type of environment are we furnishing them for their further development and unfolding? Is it such as to develop each individual to the fullest extent of his latent powers? Does each individual receive as much education and training as he can profitably use? Is he brought up in a socially and physically healthy atmosphere? In a word, are we using the best possible "potters" for the working-up of the "clay" at our disposal? Third, what is the quality of the individuals we are accepting from the outside? This is the problem of the quality of the immigrant accretions, and is no less important than the problem of the types we are producing at home. Do they represent a fair sample of the quality of the groups from which they come? Are they predominantly from the superior or the inferior strains?

The heredity of the American people is based on an original ancestry composed of a highly selected group of early colonists who were in the main of superior stock. They were the dauntless souls who were driven from their homelands by political and religious persecution. We must not, of course, forget that there were those who were adventurers only, without the ideals which motivated most of the New England colonists, nor that America was early used as a dumping ground for paupers and a haven of refuge for criminals. These, however, were typical neither of the blood nor the spirit of the original ancestry. All in all, they were a vigorous group of risk-takers; alert and capable, willing to brave the dangers of the deep and to take their chances in a new and undeveloped country. To this original ancestry has been added in 100 years' time some thirty million later accretions. They have come from every part of the world, but represent Europe in the main. Their blood has been mingled with that of the native American strains and the germ-plasm of the nation now represents a hopeless mixture.

THE ECONOMY OF QUALITY

The problem of quality is also a problem of economics. Farmers do not find it economical to breed from the scrubs in the herd. They often

pay huge prices for fine breeding animals in order to insure the quality of the herd. They also take heed to the environment of their animals that they may develop to the best advantage: to the maximum of their latent powers. Feeding, pasturage, and housing are given careful attention for the simple reason that they pay dividends. Similarly there is no economy in breeding anything but the best human beings, and it represents a serious short-sightedness to allow them to develop to anything but their fullest powers. We tolerate and even encourage the multiplication of the manifestly unfit, and allow great sections of our population to develop in environments which are so bad that they cannot possibly produce individuals who are normally socialized or adequately trained for an efficient and productive life.

It is strange that society should have continued for so long a time to refuse to consider the population problem from anything but the emotional angle. To have a wife and produce a family is a God-given right, we say. But is it a God-given right to pass on serious hereditary defects to countless succeeding generations? Perhaps from the standpoint of the individual it is; but society as a whole must be considered as well. So far as societies have had any program at all, it has been in the main a program for the purpose of encouraging unlimited numbers. We have already seen that such a policy defeats its own purpose. There has been practically no attention paid to the improvement of heredity, and but sporadic attempts have been made at the improvement of the environment. To be sure we have a wonderful school system, very effective sanitation and hygiene, and building codes and regulations, but we still allow people to live in slums and to spawn and multiply in poverty. We allow great numbers of our social population to be over-privileged, and greater numbers to be under-privileged. Social opportunity is a sort of nourishment. It is short-sighted to economize on nourishment for the growing child. But in society we do economize on social nourishment and feel that we have accomplished a great saving when we have done so. A mayor or an administration points with pride to its frugalities, the real fruits of which will be born in a handicapped coming generation. *The greatest possible economy lies in the direction of encouraging the best heredity and developing each individual to the maximum of his powers.*

THE ADVANTAGE OF GOOD HEREDITY

The advantage of good heredity is the advantage of a good initial start in life. As yet the hereditary factor is not so well understood as that of environment, and in democratic America we are apt to hold it a bit

under suspicion. Here men have risen from the ranks to positions of power and honor. We hail the self-made man. We hold that the boy "who has the stuff in him" can and will make his mark. In one sense this is a recognition of the fact that America furnishes an environment which makes this possible. In another sense, it admits that he must be made of "good clay" to begin with. Heredity is original capacity. It can be either limited or developed by environment *but it cannot be changed*. It is not democratic. Good heredity is more like an aristocracy. Favorable environment may be the result of chance, but good heredity is a favorable bond of connection between the generations. Heredity cannot be improved by training or environment, since we transmit acquired characteristics to future generations to but a very small extent if at all. Heredity can be improved only by selection. Animal-breeders know that no amount of scientific feeding will make a scrub produce anything but scrubs. They know that a superior herd must be bred from a "blooded" ancestry. Luther Burbank, the plant-wizard, did not produce his marvels by the cultivation of his plants, but by planting acres of specimens and searching for the variations (hereditary) which represented the type he was trying to evolve. All others were discarded and from these he continued the process, selecting and re-selecting, till at last the new variety had appeared and its heredity proven pure. For seed purposes farmers select only perfect ears of corn, and use only the perfect kernels from the main body of the ear. Seed houses supply pedigreed seeds, and one of the really big things our agricultural colleges have done for the farmer has been in the direction of improving plant and animal breeds through selection. In other forms of life we know the value of good heredity, but in human life, since we are human beings, we have been loath to apply the same findings to ourselves.

Hereditary differences between individuals and between strains are great. Shakespeare said that "some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon 'em." Here we see heredity, training, and environment. No man is the product of one, but rather of the combination of the three. One cannot but be impressed, as he looks back over his childhood, with what has become of his playmates. There was a democratic equality then, but where are they now? Some entered early the ranks of unskilled labor. They dropped out of school frequently, because they were incapable of continuing; the competition was too much for them. Others went on for the simple reason that they were capable of doing so; because they "had it in them." We utter the remark that a boy is "a chip off the old block," that "blood will tell," and many other similar bits of folk wisdom.

There are hereditary strains in any village in our country which are marked by generation after generation of superiority, mediocrity, or inferiority. In a village which I have in mind, there is a section of the community in which a group of inferior families have lived and intermarried for generations. In another section of the community lives a superior element which has been rather uniformly successful. These attempt to enforce the law and dispense charity, as is frequently necessary, to the former group. The merchants, bankers, and administrators come from one group and the unskilled laborers and ne'er-do-wells from the other. The stock illustration of the power of heredity is that of the Kallikak family. Martin Kallikak, a young man of good family, had an illegitimate son by a feeble-minded barmaid. Later he married a woman of good heredity and of his own social class. Through an interesting set of circumstances it was possible several generations later to trace back both lines of descent to the original father and the two mothers. The results are astounding. We are not intimating that they are due solely to a bad hereditary strain on the one side and a good one on the other, for bad environment assuredly accompanied the former, and good environment the latter. But environment alone is insufficient to explain the wide divergence shown in Table 20.

TABLE 20
STATUS OF DESCENDANTS OF MARTIN KALLIKAK

<i>Illegitimate line of descent</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Legitimate line of descent</i>
480	Number of descendants	496
143	Definitely known to be feeble-minded	1
291	Mental status doubtful or unknown	0
36	Illegitimate	0
33	Sexual immorality, mostly prostitution	0
24	Confirmed alcoholics	2
3	Epileptics	0
82	Died in infancy	15
3	Criminals	0
8	Keepers of disreputable houses	0
46	Definitely normal	495

So far as is known

Definitely known

One hesitates to present either the above case or any of the numerous similar ones, because the stock reaction is that while it is shocking it is very exceptional. But it is not exceptional. Any community, large or small, if carefully studied will show as definite strains. A few years ago a county in Northern Wisconsin was studied and all of its problem families were

traced back to three original family stocks. In a later and more careful study, these three were found to spring from one. Any case worker in any charitable organization in the country knows that he is dealing with family strains rather than with individuals. He knows that many of the strains are inherently inferior and that in working with them he seldom effects a complete rehabilitation. The best he can do is to improve the environment, keep them under continual supervision, and make them as efficient members of society as their inherent inferiority will permit. Undoubtedly the greatest disillusionment of the young social worker is the discovery of the fact that, in the great majority of the cases in hand, improvement is limited by capacity; that the lives of the unfit cannot be remade; that they represent a permanent problem so long as the breed continues.

The advantage of good heredity is the advantage of a normal or superior physical and nervous organization. It lies in the absence of an original handicap. It is the advantage of being so constituted that good environment will be able to produce good fruits. Heredity sets the limits for possible future development, while environment offers the opportunities for such development.

We cannot go into the problem of the mechanism of heredity. For our purposes we will have to accept it as a fact. A person's heredity represents a linkage of cells, a linkage of the past with the present. It is a continuous thing. Every time a child is born, certain characteristics of his ancestors reappear in his body. Many additional characteristics lie dormant in his germ-plasm but may reappear in the bodies (somatoplasms) of his children. The individual's chief importance is as the agent of a line of physical heredity, a combination of traits which will be passed on by him to future generations. He is the custodian of hereditary quality. The only way to get rid of poor quality is to prevent its reappearance. The best way to insure high quality is to encourage its continuity.

THE ADVANTAGE OF GOOD ENVIRONMENT

Some plants represent dwarf varieties. It makes little difference how carefully we train them or what supports we give them on which to grow. They are dwarfs and will remain so. The support may hold them a bit straighter and give them more room to spread but, at best, they are dwarfs which have been given a good chance. Other plants are climbers and will climb if given the opportunity. If, however, we fail to provide the trellis they will twist about on the ground in an effort to perform their normal function, but they will never grow as large and luxuriantly as they would have if the support had been provided. The dwarf was a

dwarf to begin with and the other a climber. The support merely represents an opportunity. It is environment. *The advantage of good environment is the advantage of a favorable opportunity to develop, but no amount of opportunity will make a climber out of a dwarf.*

There is a limit to the amount of water which a sponge can absorb. There is a similar limit to the amount of opportunity by which an individual can profit. It is wasteful to give a dwarf a ten-foot trellis. Similarly it is wasteful to force a boy through a college training which he is incapable of absorbing. In the case of the human being the waste is more serious, since we force him into a sphere where he will never fit and prevent him from taking his place in society where he really belongs. Overprivileging is thus as serious a mistake as underprivileging and has produced for us a vast army of "white-collar" misfits.

The effects of environment are much more evident than the effects of good heredity. From birth till death, environment is at work affecting and effecting physical, mental, and social development. At birth and before, the physical health of the infant depends in large measure on the health and care of the mother. During infancy the physical development of the child is determined by its feeding and care. Many individuals are physically handicapped for life because of the ignorance or neglect of their parents. The fond mother who puts "just a wee bit of coffee" in her infant's milk is showing a bit of misplaced love, but little wisdom. The child brought up in a home of poverty where proper nourishment and clothing are impossible does not get a fair start in life. So on through life the habits of the individual, the conditions of sanitation under which he lives, his diet, clothing, and housing, the amount of exposure which he endures, the hygiene which he practices, the climate which he endures, and his opportunities for healthful living in general determine his physical development. Now, some are born physical weaklings and some are born robust. Good environment cannot make a healthy man, but it can make him as healthy as his original endowment allows.

Men are born with various grades of native ability, but their mental content comes from their social environment. Their degree of socialization depends on the habits and attitudes of mind which society implants. "It is a great advantage to a child to be born into a family where the mother tongue is spoken correctly, where good habits are maintained, where manners are gentle and where conversation is ennobling. . . . And so with training. Regular attendance at school, frequent travel and visits to art museums confer an inestimable benefit upon the child." Both the slum and the residential section, the street and the playground, the rail-

road tracks and the park, the back alley and the summer camp, the alley gang and the boy's club are making our future citizens. Every one of them comes out indelibly stamped with the environment which has furnished him with his personal habits and his social ideals.

What is the object of our school systems, churches, libraries, social centers, parks, galleries, museums, playgrounds, summer camps, and a thousand other allied institutions and programs? It is to aid in the physical, mental, and social development of individuals. It is an attempt to make the environment fit for humanity. Still we tolerate slum and stagnant village. We doom millions to lives in environments which can only stunt growth and development. We continue to build our best schools where they are the least needed, to beautify streets in prosperous sections, and to establish parks where the poor cannot get to them. Slums are in part the product of the people who live in them, but even more are the people the product of the slum. Their streets are dirty because careless people live in them, but also because municipalities pay more attention to cleaning their boulevards. The public takes care of its show places but allows charity, through social-settlement programs, to assume the responsibility of furnishing opportunity for the poor. The writer once lived in a settlement house in a vicious section of New York. The room he chose for his own opened on an air-shaft, as did those of the tenements fifteen feet across the shaft. No light ever entered the room and the floor and furniture were perpetually covered with a film of oily dust. Through the window came not only the odors from innumerable wash-tubs and frying-pans, but indescribable sights and sounds as well. There were tired, irritable, and slovenly mothers alternately bending over wash-tub and kitchen stove. They were existing in an environment and under conditions which could never be made to produce a home. In the very nature of things they were not and could not be fit companions for their husbands and children; tired, sweaty, begrimed, and half-drunken husbands coming home, and who could blame them for stopping at the "poor man's club" on the way? Half-wild children in from the streets, surly sons from work, overdressed and painted daughters, home for what? To eat and later to sleep, escaping between times to work and to the social life of the gang, the pool-hall, the saloon, the "movie," and the dance-hall. Blocks and miles of this with Fifth Avenue but a few steps away, and the only attempts at counteracting the situation being made by the social settlements and similar charitable agencies. And what did the environment produce? Exactly what one might expect: stunted lives, crime, vice, low ideals, social inefficiency, misfits. No business man would tolerate anti-

quoted and inefficient business methods and methods of production. We have learned our lesson in that field, but in the production of our crop of citizens we are unbelievably lax.

Environment represents opportunity. The social ideal of democracy is that of an equal chance for all. But an equal chance has been cleverly defined as an equal opportunity for every man to prove his inequality. In other words, it is the chance for every man to develop as far as he is able to go. It involves not wasting opportunity on those who are incapable of profiting by it.

THE PHYSICAL AND THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Professor Fairchild says:

"Man does not have to sigh for new worlds to conquer. He is already faced with a new challenge—the challenge of the human environment. The happiness of mankind is in the last analysis the happiness of the individual, and the well-being of the modern individual is at least as dependent upon human environment as upon the physical. The human environment is vastly more complex and baffling than the physical. This due largely to the fact that it is a dynamic factor rather than a static . . . The world has always been essentially the same at every stage of man's development . . . All he needs to do is to learn about the world, and the knowledge holds good. But the human environment has been built up from nothing to its present proportions during the space of man's own existence. Every change in the physiological features of the human being, every additional convulsion in his gray matter, every invention and discovery, every new institution, every advance in the mastery of nature itself has had its repercussion on the human environment. As fast as adaptations were made new adaptations were required. As a consequence, man's adaptation to his human environment has never been very accurate, and at the present time the maladjustments are glaring. We know a good bit more about the organization of industry than we do about the organization of society. We know a good deal better how to produce wealth than we do about how to distribute and use it. We understand much better how to control the forces of nature than the forces of the human heart." ¹

INDEXES OF POPULATION QUALITY

The Distribution of Wealth. The amount of wealth an individual possesses is not necessarily an index either to his social worth or to his inherent ability. In a country, however, where there are comparatively few inherited large fortunes and where the *self-made man* is still the rule, the acquisition of wealth may easily mean some sort of superiority. But, however the wealth is acquired, whether by accident or by ability, it does represent social opportunity for those possessing it. This wealth may

¹ Fairchild, H. P., *Foundations of Social Life*, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1927, p. 151.

be wisely or foolishly used, it may not bring the social opportunity it inherently represents, but certain it is that *insufficient wealth*, no matter how economically it is used, does represent a serious social handicap. Poverty involves a low standard of living, insufficient nourishment and clothing, improper housing conditions, and an inadequate surplus for insurance and incidentals. It makes the normally efficient life impossible, and the handicap is seen in the impairment of physical health, mental vigor, and social outlook. *The distribution of wealth is an inadequate index to inherent ability, but is a most potent determiner of social environment and of acquired ability.*

With this in view it is interesting to note the generalization, which is nearer the truth than we might wish, that one-tenth of the population of the United States is in possession of nine-tenths of the wealth of the country, and that nine-tenths of the population is compelled to subsist on one-tenth of the wealth. Since we are a very wealthy nation, this remaining one-tenth is fortunately large enough to make possible the highest general standard of living in the world. In Dr. King's study of the distribution of wealth in the United States, made in 1915, he divides the population into four classes. The poor comprise 65 per cent; the lower middle class, 15 per cent; the upper middle class, 18 per cent; and the rich, 2 per cent of the population. He found that more than 50 per cent of the families received less than 30 per cent of the income of the country, or less than \$800 per annum per family. Whether it be in 1915 or 1925, and whether the family live in the city, the village, or the open country, it is perfectly evident that \$800 per year is an entirely inadequate amount on which to maintain a family of five and produce socially, mentally, and physically efficient citizens. It is equally evident that other families or groups of families, fortunately few in number, possess annual incomes of such huge proportions that by no stretch of the imagination can they profitably and efficiently consume their incomes. The remainder may be squandered, hoarded, or reinvested and made to multiply; or it may be doled out to a grateful public in the form of libraries, foundations, and endowments. In any case, little enough of this surplus gets back to, or alleviates the condition of the above thus handicapped 65 per cent.

The Health and Physical Fitness of the Nation. The span of life is, as we have seen, increasing. The mortality rate shows a hopeful tendency and the morbidity rate for most diseases is on the marked decline. We are saving more of our infants, getting them through the perilous first year of life. There are fewer industrial accidents and occupational dis-

eases. We are conquering plagues and discovering germs. Our land is dotted with hospitals and sanatoria. Boards of health and sanitary commissions are on the job everywhere. We are safeguarding our ailing as never before. This is as it should be, but there are certain by-products of sanitation and hygiene which are worth noticing. We are not only saving life but insuring the lives of the unfit. We are preserving them for future multiplication. In an earlier day they would have been ruthlessly weeded out—a heartless but an effective program. No one could desire to return to it, but if we are to continue in our program of preservation, we must accompany it by a program of selection. *If we prevent the operation of natural selection, we must substitute some form of artificial selection or suffer the consequences.* This we have not done. We have hospitals for the insane and schools for the mentally defective. We have institutions for the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the epileptic. If we salvage them or fit them for life in society again, there is nothing to prevent them from marrying and passing on their hereditary defects.

Mental Health and Fitness. The human being, in comparison with other animal beings, possesses certain mental characteristics which, in spite of his comparative physical weakness, have made him dominant over them. But the question we must here ask is whether or not we are maintaining the level. This is not a question of the effectiveness of our school system, but of the rate at which different grades of intelligence and native mental ability are reproducing their kind. Since the processes of physical evolution are so slow, there is little evidence that the structure of either the body or the brain has undergone appreciable change during the past 25,000 years. As human beings we have approximately the same inheritance as our earliest historically known ancestors. Consequently there is little hope for the improvement of the race from the side of normal physical evolution. What changes there are, either for better or worse, have come through selective breeding. Selection may be either accidental or designed. War, religious intolerance, and political oppression may strip populations of their fittest members. Social customs may work in either direction. Charity may create more misery than it relieves, placing a premium on larger families of the unfit, or it may have for its aim the rehabilitation of the unfortunate misfit. Education may *fit* or *unfit* the individual for life; it may set aside an intellectual elite or dissipate its services.

Mental tests and their widespread application in schools and among soldiers during the War have given us the first scientific grounds for the mental classification of our population. It must be admitted that these

tests are still in the experimental stage and that the tests made in the Army camps were made under far from uniform conditions. Still the results are, to say the least, astounding, and we are faced with the fact that we have a far larger percentage of low-grade mentality than we had dreamed. It is difficult to estimate the amount of genius and mental inferiority in our population. A mere enumeration of the numbers in hospitals and other institutions for the mentally handicapped gives us little or no idea of the problem, since the vast majority of our defectives are not in such institutions. Their defect is of such a nature that they are able to marry, maintain families, and engage in unskilled labor, and are allowed to vote and function as normal citizens. The ratio of actual certified insanity cared for in institutions comes to about 2 per thousand of the population, but many are privately cared for and this does not take into account the volume of feeble-mindedness to which we pay little attention and for which we have few institutions. The ratio of feeble-mindedness is variously estimated at from 2 to 5 per thousand of the population, but when we consider the findings of the draft examinations and the experience of schools with mental tests, we are tempted to conclude that they far understate the truth.

In order better to understand the problem, let us briefly define and explain the terms we are using. In a class by itself is *insanity*, which is a legal term to define a person whose brain is diseased. Insanity may be hereditary or acquired and may be either curable or incurable. A *feeble-minded* person, on the other hand, is one who possesses a functionally dwarfed brain, one that is incompletely developed. It has been normal up to a certain stage, where further development has been arrested. Feeble-mindedness is largely an innate or hereditary quality. Some determiner of mental capacity is absent from the germ-plasm in such cases. Degrees of feeble-mindedness are measured in terms of mental age. Mental and physical age are not necessarily the same, for an individual of forty-five may have attained a mental growth of but ten. "The degree of intelligence which marks the line between the feeble-minded and the normal person has been defined as that degree below which the possessor cannot manage himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence." In terms of the mental age, this point is placed at from twelve to fourteen years. Below this point, a person is feeble-minded, and above it he is normal. The feeble-minded class is further divided into three groups. The *idiot* does not surpass the intelligence of a two-year-old child, is helpless, and needs constant physical care. The *imbecile* may attain the intelligence of a seven-year-old, and can perform simple routine tasks, but only under

direction. He also needs physical care. The *moron*, the real social problem, may attain a maximum mental age of from twelve to fourteen years, can take care of himself physically, and can perform so many functions that it is difficult for the average person to recognize him.

The insane person, the idiot, and the imbecile are easily recognized. Their defects are sufficiently serious that we provide institutions for their care and they are seldom a menace to heredity, since they are usually incapable of marriage and procreation.

"The moron, however, can pass as normal among laymen. Like the twelve year old child, he can understand instructions and perform fairly intricate tasks. He can read and write, feed and clothe himself, can take interest and discuss the events that transpire about him, but no matter what his physical age and size, he is always a child in his power of discrimination, of self control, of planning, and of initiative. To leave him on his own resources out in the community, forced to compete with his normal fellows in industry, to live up to the standards of morals evolved from the complexities of modern civilization, when he has not the inherent qualities necessary to enable him to do so, results in the ne'er-do-well, the unemployable, the vicious, the immoral and the criminal. To study the available statistics on the subject is to realize the vital necessity of a more general recognition of the moron as a part of the feeble-minded group if the progress of civilization is to continue. *A large portion of the defective delinquents are morons.*"

Let us now turn to the findings of the draft, remembering that they cannot be accepted at face value, but that if we qualify them by 50 per cent, they are still astounding. The draft represented a perfectly fair cross-section of the young manhood of our nation. It included more than 1 per cent of the entire population. It drew men from every geographical section and from each social and economic stratum. It was what the statistician would call a *fair sample*. Dr. Goddard, in his *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*, has made one of the best studies of quality from the results of these tests. The following is adapted from his findings.

Three general levels of intelligence may be recognized: superior, average, and inferior. Those of superior intelligence (Grades A and B) are endowed with marked intellectuality. They have qualities of leadership and represent the *successful* college-student type. From this group came the major portion of the officers. Average intelligence (Grades C+, C and C-) presents a wide range of ability. In terms of mental age it extends from 11.5 to 16.5 years. This carries it from slightly below the border line up to a fair degree of ability. Those of high average intelligence (C+) are capable of finishing high school, with all that that indicates with regard to their general ability. Those of low average intelligence

(C—) are probably incapable of getting into high school at all and are capable only of routine work. When we realize that this general "average" group represents the mass of our population or of any population, and when we realize that it is the group which "just gets by," which is distinguished neither by marked failure nor marked success, it somewhat dampens our hope for the great middle class. Those of inferior intelligence (Grades D and D—) were exactly what the word implies. Their mental age ranged from 11.5 years to ten and below. This means that they were morons, were apt to be illiterate, were incapable of finishing the grades in school, and were capable only of manual routine work. These are not the "scrubs" in the herd, they are below even that.

With the above in mind, the results of the Army tests may be visualized as follows:

A	—ssssssss.....	4.5%
B	—ssssssssssssssssss.....	9.0
C+	—aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa.....	16.5
C	—aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa.....	25.0
C—	—aaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaaa.....	20.0
D	—iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii.....	15.0
D—	—iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii.....	10.0

S = Superior.

A = Average.

I = Inferior.

From this we may gather that 13.5 per cent were of superior intelligence; 61.5 per cent, average; and 25 per cent, inferior. This is a serious showing, but the results have not received wide credence for the simple reason that they have been considered too astounding to be true. Be that as it may, they are a testimony to the fact that our social population is cumbered with a vast flood of low-grade intelligence. This condition is complicated by the fact that the lower the grade of intelligence, the weaker the inhibitions, the earlier the age at marriage, and the larger the number of children born. A class of this sort is a special danger because there is always a tendency for them to out-breed the average and superior elements.

The criticism has often been made, and with justice, that our present mental tests do not actually isolate and measure innate ability: that they are vitiated by a certain amount of environmental influence which cannot as yet be excluded. Whether or not this is true, they do measure ability (either inherent or acquired) and as such and for our purposes are a valuable index of quality.

A further index to ability or quality is found in the occupations in

which the males of our population are engaged. It stands to reason that not all unskilled workmen are such because of intellectual inferiority. They may find themselves in that position because of adverse social conditions and inadequate social opportunity to develop. Likewise, not all professional men and successes in trade and industry are such because of exceptional ability. Accidents of environment may have made them what they are. Nevertheless, in a country of such general equality of opportunity as the United States, we may expect the type of work a man does to represent fairly his ability. With this in mind, compare the numbers of our unskilled laborers who are working by the day at routine manual tasks with the numbers of our professional men engaging in professions which require a high degree of training, skill, initiative, self-direction, and individual responsibility.

Compare also the size of incomes, which, while an imperfect indication, is suggestive; and consider the populations of our slums and tenements. The numbers of our population who are inadequately nourished, clothed, housed, and paid may be an inadequate index to inherent quality, but it is a good index to acquired or developed condition.

Social Health and Fitness. How shall we measure our social health or the degree to which our citizens have been adequately prepared for citizenship; the degree to which they are socialized and are efficiently functioning parts of the social whole? Or, conversely, how many of them are parasites, refusing to coöperate, to earn an honest living, to abide by the social standards of the group and, in a word, to play the game according to its rules. For an answer go to our courts, prisons, reformatories, and workhouses. Go to our probation officers and to our hospitals filled with drug-addicts and venereally diseased. We shall be tempted to conclude that large numbers of our population are making a *land of liberty a land of license*. It is generally agreed that "the United States is the most criminal country in the world." The City of Chicago alone has to its discredit each year more murders than the British Isles together. It has been recently estimated that the cost of crime in the United States runs to the amazing figure of \$2,500,000 per day. This amounts to nearly \$1,000,000,000 per year. Another estimate, considering *all* costs in property, life, and legal procedure, places it at just ten times that amount. "At all times about 200,000 persons in the United States are under lock and key. But these 200,000 represent less than one-fifth of the active criminal population—men, women and children who are definitely anti-social and certain to be charges of the state for some part of their lives."

The problem of the quality of the social population is, of course,

much wider than has been indicated in this brief chapter. The evidences or indexes are much more numerous, but this will be sufficient to call attention to the important fact that the quality of the individuals we are producing, either by physical heredity or by social environment, is of even greater importance than their numbers.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define *eugenics*. Define *euthenics*.
2. Which is the more important factor in making the individual what he is, heredity or environment?
3. What is the contribution made by each?
4. What environmental factors were responsible for your seeking a higher education?
5. Did heredity play a definite part?
6. How has immigration affected American heredity? environment?
7. Show the fallacy of economizing on playgrounds and on street-cleaning in slums.
8. If the poor are unable to appreciate and properly use modern sanitary apartments, what are we going to do about it?
9. What are the social and physical effects of under-privilege?
10. Can Society afford the money it would require to attack adequately our problems of population quality?
11. Describe a problem family you have actually known. What were the factors in heredity and environment which made it a problem family?

CHAPTER 13

THE PROBLEM OF ENSURING QUALITY

We have noticed the various programs for the insuring of an abounding quantity of population. Usually they have to do merely with mores and with the social frame of mind. Seldom, however, have definite programs been successful. The Catholic church stands squarely opposed to any voluntary curtailment of the birth-rate and yet it is not evident that the fecundity of Catholics of the same economic class shows a markedly different trend from that of Protestants. The Italian dictator has been the latest to throw his hat into the ring and threaten the alternative of larger families or certain penalties. It is doubtful if the penalties, as such, will be effective. Populations are, on the other hand, remarkably sensitive, and react subconsciously to social and economic situations. The age at marriage, the volume of marriage, and the average number of children per family reflect the social and economic outlook and the standard of living toward which the group is striving. If the sanctions of the church were effective, then we might expect it to be made up of large families, but such does not seem to be generally the case. In the matter of reproduction people will not obey orders, but they do respond with alacrity to indirect social stimuli. Fecundity is controlled not so much through reason and legislation as through the emotions. There are few examples of definite programs directed toward limitation of the size of the population. The Spartans exposed defective children, but not to limit the size of the population; certain Oriental nations practise infanticide, but not as a social policy; abortion and contraception are fairly common the world over; and Americans have cut down on accretions through immigration. But, with the exception of our new immigration laws, which do not have to do with reproduction, these practices are, at the present at least, purely individual affairs and unconnected with any general program or practice.

We may say, the writer thinks, that human reproductivity defies *definite* social control. We cannot order crops of babies and we cannot cancel them. We are dealing with one of the most complex of emotional reactions both on the part of the individual and on the part of society. A multitude of factors are in force which may operate either in one direction or in the other. All the statesman can do is to keep his finger on the social pulse,

keep society informed as to its condition, and let nature take its course. He can modify conditions here and there, but he cannot produce direct and sweeping changes. He can tax bachelors or he can spread propaganda of imminent economic prosperity—and the latter course will be far more effective than the former. *The size of the population is the direct result of the reaction of people to their social and economic environment. It is affected by the level and the trend of the standard of living. It is influenced by social opportunity, intelligence, and the breadth of the social horizon.* The best we can do, in attaining the desired optimum numbers, is to keep the people intelligently informed, and to take such intermediate steps as will indirectly produce the desired results.

THE INSURANCE OF QUALITY

The problem of ensuring the quality of the social population is one which allows more direct treatment. We cannot control the reproduction trends of a people, but we can direct their choice of mates and prevent breeding from obviously defective stocks. So far we have made frantic attempts to control quantity and have done little or nothing about the control of quality.

Who Are the Inferior? Before we can tackle the problem of improving the breed we must know who are the inferior. This is no task for the tyro. It must not be left to the reformer or to the statesman. It is a question for the biologist and psychologist to answer, and when they feel reasonably sure that they know, the sociologist can begin to build his program. We know that we have a vast amount of inferiority, but we do not know how much of it is due to environment and how much to heredity. Hence, we do not know whether to tackle it from the standpoint of eugenics or eugenics. We visit our slums and stagnant villages and wonder why these people are there. Have they been produced by their environment or have they themselves produced it? We note all too frequently a certain type of laborer at work. He, like the horse, has his physical strength to market. We talk with him and note the dullness of his face, his lack of any specific training, and the emptiness of his mind. And why? Is he inherently inferior or has he suffered from the effects of an under-privileged environment? We visit our schools and note that the children have been sorted out according to their mental ability and assigned to special classes. One class is for the slow ones, and special teachers are provided who excel in their ability to deal with them. Another class is for the exceptionally bright students, who have been thus placed by themselves in order that they may advance as rapidly as their superior

ability permits. But why the difference? Why has one group a higher intelligence quotient (*I. Q.*) than the other? Is it innate or is it merely because the inferior students came from inferior environments? We may go to our prisons, workhouses, reformatories, hospitals, asylums, schools for the feeble-minded, and other institutions for the socially or physically defective and here we certainly may find a congestion of the inferior. Go to the judge, to the juvenile court, to the charity organization society and the social worker, and we shall find those who are still a part of the body politic. Go where we will, we find the inferior. They are the physically, mentally, and socially defective, and hence the physically, mentally, and socially handicapped. They are the vicious and the irresponsible; the antisocial, unsocial, inefficient, and ineffective; those who "just get by," who just make a go of life, and those for whom society has to (or should) assume responsibility. Here they are, the inferior. There are two possible root causes of their inferiority, heredity and environment, and two possible points of approach to the solution of the problem, eugenics and eugenics. The sociologist is not interested in which it is as a problem in science. He merely wants to know which in order that he may direct the attack.

Who are the unfit? They are the ones who have been so handicapped by either heredity or environment that they are not normally efficient members of society. They are the ones who are unable to stand the strain of normal competition, social and economic, with their fellows. They are our failures and they are not all of them in prisons, hospitals, asylums, poorhouses, and other public and charitable institutions. The vast majority of them are society's marginal hangers-on. We tolerate them, allow them to do our dirty work, scorn them, pity them sometimes, but in the main take them for granted, and allow them to go their way, marry, spawn, and perpetuate their kind.

The Euthenic Program. If we are not making the best of the heredity which we have, what can we do to improve the environment and at least bring every individual and class up to the limit of its potential ability?

In the first place, we may take for granted that in a country as prosperous as our own, and one in which great fortunes are so numerous, there is no possible excuse for any normally efficient man to earn less than a normal subsistence wage. If his work is worth anything at all to society, it is worth enough to make it possible for him to maintain himself and his family at the minimum standard of efficiency and decency at least. We know what kinds of food, and how much, he and his family should have, what housing conditions, what clothing, and what insurance

and incidentals. It is easy to estimate the minimum for social and physical efficiency. Now when so many are maintaining standards far in excess of this level and even to the point where their consumption habits are detrimental to their physical and social health, why should there be any excuse for poverty except among the physically unfit? This, of course, is primarily a problem of the distribution of social wealth, but it results in the serious handicapping of many otherwise normally endowed families and individuals.

Second, if there be those, and of course there are many of them, who are so handicapped or inefficient that their labor is not worth a day's full pay, then they should be the wards of the state. At present we provide "homes," asylums, hospitals, poorhouses, and prisons for the hopelessly defective and dependent. This is as it should be. Society should not tolerate idleness or too low pay for the normally efficient, and it should assume the burden of responsibility for the demonstrably unfit, which it has either allowed to be born such or has produced in the unfavorable environments which it maintains. We have too large a volume of unskilled labor which is unskilled simply because of the lack of training. We have many others who can do unskilled manual labor but can never be normally efficient workers because of some inherent deficiency. These prey upon society, keep our slums going, and furnish an undue proportion of the next generation. It would be cheaper in the long run for society to assume the burden of responsibility for these. Society should not, of course, keep them in idleness, but should assure them a decent minimum standard of living in return for whatever work they are able to do. It will be possible for society to limit the reproduction of the classes thus segregated.

Third, continue the present program. Slums pay dividends only to the owners of tenements and cost society huge sums. Playgrounds, recreation centers, and directors cost money, but they cost far less than alley gangs and their product. Clean streets, sanitary precautions, breathing-spaces, fresh air, and sunlight are more necessary for the poor who have not the means to live in restricted areas than for the rich. Education should be for life and should be adapted to the needs of the individual and his probable future. Latin grammar is fine for the boy who has prospects of entering Harvard, but of little use to the boy who can look forward only to learning a trade and becoming an efficient, skilled workman. We should not tolerate a condition which allows any normal boy to leave our school system till he is definitely fitted to earn a living. Girls may be prepared to earn their living too, but it is even more important that they be taught to be home-makers. If the native ability of an individual be so low that

he cannot profit by such an educational opportunity, he should undoubtedly become a ward of the state.

It will be objected that it is useless to provide conveniences and comforts for many of the poor since they do not want them and do not know how to use them. They clutter up the fire-escapes of their tenements in spite of the fact that their own safety demands access to them. We are told of cases where porcelain bathtubs have been used for the storage of fuel. The conclusion is that it is useless to try to improve their condition, that we might as well leave them as they are in their dark, crowded, and unsanitary quarters. We may answer that so long as we do leave them there they will never learn the better way, since people who have spent the major portion of a lifetime in such quarters and under such conditions have become inured to the handicaps of their environment and will not easily change. But their children need not continue the life. They can be reached and changed. Through the children the lives of the parents can also be modified. We shall never attain the good in either city or country by adopting the *laissez-faire* policy.

The euthenic program has for its object the provision of such an environment that each individual will have the opportunity of developing up to the limit of his latent powers. To do anything else is social waste and economic folly. In our manufacturing plants we see to it that the strength and power of a machine is fitted to the task which we wish it to perform, that horse-power is not lost, that raw materials are efficiently consumed, and that nothing is wasted. In the production, training, and socialization of human beings we do nothing of the sort. We are content to allow them to be born, to grow up with the minimum of attention and economic expenditure, and then we thank God for the product and make the best of it. There is no question that one of the greatest economies the nation could practise at the present time is that of curtailing the production of both the unfit and the misfit. This can in large part be accomplished by providing an environment which will make humanity safe for society.

The Eugenic Program. The logic of the euthenic program is self-evident. That of the eugenic program is still under fire. While the majority of our biologists are convinced of the existence of hereditary inequalities and of the hereditary character of many types of inferiority, there are those who refuse to recognize anything but the environmental factor in the production of differences between individuals. The latest theory from Europe is that latent genius is present in every man, and that it merely remains for society to discover and develop the latent power. Certain it is

that much potential genius is not only allowed to lie fallow and undeveloped, but to be smothered out as well. If this be true, well and good. Our duty is to press the euthenic program to its logical conclusion. But whether it be true or not, the purpose of the euthenic program is to make the best of the material in hand. If it be false, then we may use the eugenic program for the purpose of improving the material itself. The sociologist is inclined to the belief that the biologist knows what he is talking about and is disposed to canvass the field and see what can be done about the improvement of the human breed. But, we are reminded, human beings cannot be bred like cattle. We are human beings, God's handiwork, the climax of creation. You cannot breed human beings for intelligence and physical superiority as you can breed Jersey cows for milk or Leghorn hens for eggs. This is true. The home cannot be supervised as the barnyard is. Further, society does not want the standardization for which the plant-breeders and animal-breeders strive. It might be possible to breed human beings for specific physical and mental qualities, but a standardized race would hold out a most uninteresting prospect.

In the eugenic program we are interested for the present only in the process of breeding out the unfit—of getting rid of the scrubs in the human stock. If we can do this in the course of a century, we shall have done well. This one problem is sufficient to command all of our attention and ingenuity. We do not know definitely as yet who the inherently unfit are, but as they are designated to us by the expert, there are certain things which may be done.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTELLIGENCE AND SOCIAL CONSCIENCE

The first step in the development of intelligence and social conscience has nothing to do with sanction and legal enactment; it is what Ross so aptly calls "falling in love intelligently." Romantic love, better known as "puppy love," is thought of as the flower of our civilization. We stand aghast at the very idea that Oriental parents choose mates for their sons and daughters, but we could do very well in the Occident with a larger measure of more mature parental control in this all-important matter. Of course this implies that the parents will also be intelligently motivated and make their choice on the basis of physical, mental, and social quality rather than on that of social prestige and money. So long as we bless marriages and approve unions on the ground that two immature persons of opposite sex are in a condition of emotional instability and are *madly in love* (with each other or *with love*), marriage will continue to be a gamble. At present the purpose of marriage seems

to be the honeymoon. Young people are left to discover later that it implies a home, a family, and a lifetime of fairly unromantic living together. It is a sharing of sorrows as well as of joys; of responsibilities as well as of privileges. Its real importance lies not so much in the comfort and happiness of the contracting parties as in their success in rearing and training the children of the next generation; those who are to take their places, pass on their heredity, perpetuate their minds, and bring into the world the following generation. It is scarcely decent for young people to recognize frankly the fact that parenthood is in store for them. It is a dead secret, and even their parents must broach the subject to them but indirectly and under a veil.

Of course it will be impossible ever to completely rationalize marriage. "Marriage must be mainly a matter of the emotions; but it is important that the emotions be exerted in the right direction. The eugenicist seeks to remove the obstacles that are now driving the emotions in wrong channels. If the emotions can only be headed in the right direction, then the more emotions the better, for they are the source of energy which is responsible for almost everything that is done in the world." It is not necessary to allow the emotions to run wild even in the matter of mating and marriage. There is no more reason why the choice of a husband or a wife should not lend itself to as careful and intelligent consideration as the selection of a profession. What we need is information and intelligence. We need to learn to face this problem as we do others. The knowledge which is already in existence must be made current.

Thus our first problem is that of intelligently motivating marriage and mating. This must be accomplished in the main through popular education, though we may turn to legislation for the prevention of certain unquestionably undesirable types of union. There are many agencies which may be used for the purpose of creating popular sentiment on the subject: preaching, teaching, writing, lecturing; drama, art, literature. The trouble is that so few of our writers, teachers, and preachers are themselves sufficiently well informed on the subject. The process is slow, but public sentiment is already changing.

Ross sums up the fruits of this social intelligence on the individual and the family somewhat as follows: There will be greater attention to family history and the better keeping of family records when the contracting parties, represented by contracting families, realize that it is a new line of heredity which is being sanctioned rather than a mere honeymoon. There will be, and should be, a tendency to cooperate with the Eugenics Record Office in its effort to lay the foundations for a sound

knowledge of American heredity. There will be more inquiry by parents into the state of health and family history of wooers and less concern over financial prospects. The romantic ideal of marriage will be modified by bringing into consideration by both parties the question of the heredity of their prospective children. A new social conscience will be developed with regard to the knowledge of the possession of probable hereditary defects. The conscious possessor of such defective germ-plasm will be as severely censured by public opinion as the transmitter of a vile disease who nevertheless marries and subjects his innocent mate to contamination. Normal people possessing such defects will refrain from marriage; or, frankly facing the issue, the contracting parties will agree to refrain from having children. Near kin, knowing the situation, will feel under the obligation of giving evidence.

It is most important to note that obvious defects present in the somatoplasm will take care of themselves. A person whose handicap lies on the surface and exposed to view runs less chance of winning a mate than a person of normal structure. The hereditary defect, however, is often masked. A seemingly normal person may be the carrier of defects which will crop up only in a future generation. For this reason it is imperative that the new social conscience be encouraged and developed.

But will not this attempt to rationalize marriage strike the death-blow to our cherished institution, the home? Is not the home, as at present based on romantic love, the outstanding feature of Western civilization? The answer is that the foundations of the home seem to be less secure in Western than in Eastern civilization at the present moment. Our divorce record in America, where individual choice is allowed the greatest scope and where romantic love has the greatest freedom, beats the world. Our home has become a filling station and parking place. It no longer plays the rôle it once did or which it at present plays in the Eastern world. Furthermore, from personal observation and intimate knowledge, the writer does not find that freedom of individual choice and unlimited romantic love result in happier families in the West than a very different system does in the East. In one case, one falls in love before marriage, and in the other case, after marriage—and the latter system actually works! The writer is convinced that we have gone to an extreme from which there must be a retreat. Undoubtedly the Orient, representing the opposite extreme, will also have to modify her course. There can be as little advantage in too little premarital acquaintance and familiarity as in too much; in having all the "say" as in having no "say" at all. A Chinese told the writer one day that he was about to be married. He was forty

years old and this would be his fourth wife. The writer was so unfortunate as to treat the matter lightly, asking him where he had met her, if she was young and handsome, and the like. Though he was the writer's servant, he drew himself up in all his Oriental dignity and informed me that he was "not that sort of a man," that he had "never seen her." Still, they are very happy together and as much in love as any Occidental might wish or expect a man and his fourth wife to be. Every culture group defends its own institutions and fails to see how any other *modus operandi* can work. The family is an old institution and has been variously controlled and operated. There is no reason why our own method of mating should not undergo modification in favor of a bit less fervent emotional heat and a bit more cool-headed sanity.

The Development of a Program by the State. The Trouble we now face is that the above program is ineffective in cases of antisocial individuals and individuals who are so defective as to be incapable of appreciating their social responsibility in this delicate matter. Morons are not sensitive to social sanctions and are inherently lacking in the possession of normal inhibitions. Their sex urge is feebly controlled. Society will have to be safeguarded against individuals such as these and normal individuals deserve such assistance as the state can give.

First, let the state study the quality of its members with as much care as it does that of horses on farms, and devote as much attention to this study as to the study of commerce and industry. The census operations of the government bid fair to increase in the future rather than to decrease. This is a matter in which the state should be vitally interested. At present it records births and deaths, enumerates and classifies the population, notes occupation and physical condition, but stops short of those analyses and that information which are of vital importance to any eugenic, or even euthenic, program. At present we have a privately endowed Eugenics Record Office and laboratory at Cold Spring Harbor on Long Island. It is attempting as best it can and quite without official backing to collect family histories and other eugenic records. This should, and in time will, be a function of the state, one of its most important functions. Perhaps then we shall know as much about our human stocks and their pedigrees and transmissible traits as we now do about our cattle and sheep.

Second, let us have a thorough and efficient physical and mental examination of every child. This can best be done in connection with the school, through which every child is expected to pass. Through such inspection, remediable deficiencies can be discovered and dealt with. Through

it inherent deficiencies will be spotted. Such inspection should be official in nature and applicable to all, irrespective of social position or rank, and careful records should be kept.

Third, all persons of definite hereditary taint, whether it be feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, or physical deformity, should be registered. License to wed may quite properly be withheld from certain classes of inherent defectives such, for instance, as morons.

Fourth, let us have adequate provision for the care and supervision of the defective. This would include special classes for defectives within the school system so that they may develop to their greatest efficiency. It would involve the custodial care of many more than are now the wards of the state, together with the building and manning of many additional institutions for their care, and, where necessary, their segregation. It might well include the establishment of industrial or agricultural colonies where many of the less seriously handicapped might live a life as close as possible to the normal and partially support themselves.

Fifth, let us have sterilization in exceptional and undisputed cases for the present, and let it be more widely practised when we know more about heredity. At present a number of states have sterilization laws aimed at the insane and the feeble-minded. In the past these laws have not only been remarkably inoperative, but have been aimed in the main at insanity, which is of minor importance in comparison with the feeble-mindedness which has been allowed to breed on unheeded. A beginning has been made, however, and California stands at the head of the list with a record of more than 4,000 sterilizations of feeble-minded individuals to date.

It should be added that modern scientific sterilization requires but a very minor operation in the case of the male. For the female it is more difficult, but not serious. It does not incapacitate either for physical or mental efficiency. Marriage is possible and the normal marriage relation, but such unions are sterile. In many cases it would be cruel and inhuman to doom mental twelve-year-old adults to sex segregation in institutions or on farms where they would spend the reproductive years of their lives in isolation from the opposite sex. Provided they are sterilized, society can allow them to mate and live as family pairs without danger of their perpetuating their defect.

But such a program would cost money! Yes, it might easily cost a billion, but what of the saving? Society spends that much every year in charity for its ineffectives; in operating the courts, the major portion of the work of which is caused by them; and in the losses to society through their economic inefficiency. We would not tolerate an out-of-date

machine in a factory if its upkeep cost more than its product was worth. That sort of waste we can understand. The perpetuation and even encouragement of inefficient human machines is a very similar matter, but more difficult to grasp.

It will be noticed that the above program makes no attempt to breed for a specific type, it does not invade the sanctity of the home, it does not attempt to dictate the selection of mates. It merely attempts the isolation of the inherently unfit. It is a process of breeding the unfit *out* of society rather than that of selecting certain desirable traits and breeding only from them. If we do this in the next century, we shall have accomplished more than is at present in sight. The problem of *breeding out* is ours; that of *breeding up* may well be left to another generation.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Would it be either possible or desirable to breed a standardized human type?
2. Are laws effective in controlling fecundity?
3. Is the possession of wealth any indication of superiority?
4. Is the successful self-made man necessarily superior?
5. How will you measure superiority and where will you find it?
6. Who are the inferior and where may one find them?
7. Can all inferiority be overcome or cured through the improvement of the environment?
8. What are the main elements of the euthenic program, and just how much may we expect from it?
9. What is the eugenic program, and how much can it accomplish?
10. Which is the better method of dealing with serious hereditary defect, segregation or sterilization?
11. Advance a program of the things which can be done *at once* toward the insurance of population quality.
12. Suggest a program which we will then be in a position to follow a generation hence.

CHAPTER 14

THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS

Generally problems of race relations have been referred to as "the race problem," and too often the inference has been that the trouble is confined to certain problematic races, while "WE," the white race—or to be more exact, the Nordics—are the ones annoyed and bothered. Looking at the subject thus we have befogged the real issues—and worse, we have vexed and offended "the other fellow" to the point where relations with him have become more problematic instead of improving. There are, to be sure, "race" (*i.e.*, human race) problems—problems of overpopulation, problems of degeneracy, problems of depletion by military selection—such as are so forcefully presented in Professor Edward M. East's monumental book, *Mankind at the Crossroads*;¹ but such studies are seldom referred to as "the race problem."

There are scores of problems which involve race relations—standard of living, community building, education, politics, industry, public recreation, travel conveniences, and citizenship, business—and to lump all of them together and to speak of them collectively as "the race problem" is merely to create an emotional attitude towards race relations, instead of challenging the use of careful research, thoughtful study, and sound judgment—all of which are essential to progress in human relations in any and every field. So long as questions of race relations rest upon an emotional basis there is no answer to them, other than what has been too generally characteristic—mob violence and war.

THE BASIS OF RACE FRICTION

History is, to a large extent, made up of race conflict, of race conquests, and race subjugations; and few chapters of the world's history are more illumined with the fires of race prejudice than are those which recount the making of these United States. What is the explanation?

A race tends to spread and migrate. Either drifting or driven in the direction of escape from hunger, adverse climatic conditions, disease, persecution, or servitude; or in pursuit of adventure, fortune, greater freedom for self-expression, political, or religious gains. Whenever migration

¹ New York, 1923.

takes place great changes, social, political, and economic, result. Whether voluntary, or forced (as was the case of the American negro), migration invariably gives rise to complicating and difficult problems of human relations.

When members of one race migrate into the midst of another race *recognized* as different in *cultural background* and *physical characteristics*² there results a complication of human relations which soon begins to express itself in one way or another. If the number of the migrants is relatively small, they may be accepted with curiosity and more or less indifference; but as their numbers increase, this attitude of indifference gives way to a growing race prejudice; and this race prejudice persists just as long as either the cultural or the physical differences remain recognized by either of the races.³

With the increased number of "strange" people struggling for a living, for power, for position, and for prestige, there develops in the native population a feeling that the culture and prestige of its own people—their "position," their "dominance"—is being threatened by the "trespassing" race. *Hence, in all the social institutions and in those aspects of social life where social prestige is expressed and recognized, the "color line" becomes definitely drawn.* The one race comes to regard the other race as being inferior, or undesirable, and possibly both. The race claiming superiority resents any effort on the part of the other race to assert social equality or to compete with the members of the "dominant" race for social position and prestige. Furthermore, the "dominant" race, while assigning lower social status to the "inferior" race, finds it easy to justify exploitations, and to erect a double standard of justice—one standard for the control of the relations between its own members, and another standard to regulate the relations which its members may have with the "inferior" race.

Whenever the "inferior" race refuses to accept the rating of inferiority, and demands recognition as a social equal, and a right to share the prestige of the "superior" race, then it is that trouble begins. The "superior" race insists that the "inferior" race "must keep its place," and it is seldom satisfied with lawful, orderly measures in enforcing its demands on

² Dowd, Jerome, *The Negro in American Life*, New York, 1926, p. 359.

³ Professor Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 424, defines culture roughly as follows: "(a) The energy or urge to create, and (b) the expansion of sympathy through the development of common interests, group sentiments, and organization, and the acquisition of habits, technique, patterns, or what the anthropologists call trait-complexes. Primarily, culture is a subjective phenomenon; secondarily, it is objective, and recognizable by tools, machinery, buildings, and all material products and contrivances."

the "inferiors." Such measures are too slow of action, too impersonal, too deliberate, to satisfy the emotions of jealousy, fear, and hatred, that boil over when the prestige of the race is at stake. Lynch law is substituted for orderly justice, and the mob metes out its quick, violent, terrorizing vengeance as a warning to the other members of the "inferior" race, that they must either "keep their place" or perish.⁴

A PRESENT-DAY WORLD-PROBLEM

History is full of records of bloody wars and race conflicts which demonstrate the principles which we have just outlined. But no period in history was more vexed with conflict which at the bottom is essentially race war, than is the present.

Wherever a nation is composed of dissimilar races, the embers of race prejudice are easily fanned into fierce flames. A few years ago we were repeatedly "shocked" at the awful persecutions and massacres of the Jews in Russia and Poland. There, as elsewhere, the Jews are thrifty, aggressive, and aspiring. Soon their accumulations of wealth gave them a strangle-hold on commerce and power to command recognition and position. Then, in the minds of the Poles and Russians comes the exaggerated picture of Jewish dominance, and they imagine they foresee the pride of Russia and Poland "dragging in the dust." Immediately race prejudice flares up and terrorizing "pogroms" are launched against the Jews. Governments officially express their disapproval of such mob violence and yet officials have not hesitated to join in and even lead such mobs.

The opposition to the British in India is largely the fruit of race arrogance. The Englishman demands that he be recognized as superior to the Indians, and governs them accordingly. In increasing numbers the Indians are challenging this position and their leaders are beginning to demand that, in India especially, the prestige of the natives be recognized and respected.⁵

The Orient has presented an interesting assortment of problems in race relations. In Japan Americans and Europeans dare not assume the air of "Nordic superiority." The Japanese insist on being considered the equals of the best the world over. In Japan the Japanese prestige is dominant and foreigners must respect and obey their customs, laws, and authority. Even in world politics, and especially in the disarmament conferences and the League of Nations, the voice of Japan is heard and respected.

⁴ Cutler, J. E., *Lynch Law*, New York, 1905.

⁵ Case, Clarence M., *Non-Violent Coercion*, Ch. XIX, New York, 1923.

China is a divided nation and too weak in capital resources to protect her ancient pride and demand recognition as an equal. Hence, America and European countries, taking advantage of her weak political and economic situation, have imposed upon China their "superiority" complex, and thereby justified economic exploitation of China and her resources. They set up their own government, side by side with the Chinese government, insisting that the foreigners be subject to their own law and not the law of China. It is easy to see how gross exploitation of every sort would thrive under such circumstances.

THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

We have noted that the basis for race friction lies in the recognized differences of cultural background and in physical differences. Are these factors merely artificial and capable of being eliminated, or are they of such a permanent nature that the solution to the problem of race relations involves the hopeless task of altering human nature?

Not a few scientists, chiefly biologists,⁶ and a considerable number of American writers take the view that the races are not equally endowed, and that the white man inherits a greater capacity for brain development than does the negro.⁷ If this were true, the problem of race relations in this country would resolve itself into that of devising ways and means for obtaining a change in the Constitution of the United States to permit the establishment of a white man's protectorate over the colored population!

However, most of the anthropologists and students of ethnology are agreed that racial differences cannot be interpreted as implying that some races are superior to others in intellectual capacity, enterprise, morality, and physique. "The answer to such criticism," says Kroeber, "is first of all that racial inferiority and superiority are by no means self-evident truths. Secondly, the belief in race inequalities is founded in emotion and action and then justified by reasoning. That is, the belief is rationalized, not primarily inferred by pure reason. It may be true, but it is not proven true."⁸ Great efforts have been put forth by anthropologists and ethnologists to find proof which would justify the belief in the superiority of the

⁶ See Dowd, *op. cit.*, Ch. 48, for a carefully compiled list of the scientists and writers holding that the differences are biological, hence incapable of being changed, or smoothed out.

⁷ Smith, William B., *The Color Line*, Tulane University, 1905. Stoddard, Lothrop, *The Rising Tide of Color*, New York, 1920.

⁸ Kroeber, A. L., *Anthropology*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1923, Ch. IV, p. 59.

Caucasian race; but they are frank to admit that they have not as yet come across any real proof.

The acceptance of the belief in the inferiority of the negro to the white must then be due to other than scientific proof. It is interesting to note that in most fields of thought, *observed similarities* form the basis of our beliefs; but in matters of race relations the exact reverse is true—instead of basing belief on similarities, we have emphasized the social and individual differentiations. Perhaps there is no other aspect of the problem of race relations that needs more consideration than that of collecting and presenting accurate information regarding the negro and his relations to the white race—his economic, his cultural, and his social progress and achievements. In our discussions of race relations we too often leave these matters out of consideration altogether, and emphasize the “criminality of the negro,” “immorality of the negro,” and the “illiteracy of the negro.” If we were to use the same process of reasoning in forming our estimates of Chicago, St. Louis, Memphis, and other American cities, it would not be difficult to believe that the whole of the human race has fallen into an extremely low state, and that civilization is doomed! But, to present the facts in regard to the race relations has not been the popular approach; emotional acceptance of rumor and half-truths crowd back the sober consideration of facts which would further inter-racial harmony. For example, if the same attention were given to the attacks of white men on colored women as is given to attacks of negro men on white women, it is indeed doubtful whether much more would be said about the superiority of the whites in regard to morals! The presence of from three to five million mulattoes in the negro population speaks for itself, and is a clear indication that the problem of race relations is not entirely a one-sided affair.

Then, too, if the problem of race relations rested upon permanent innate antipathies, it would be a universal phenomenon wherever divergent races associated together. But this is not the case. James Bryce, in describing the peoples of South American countries, observes “Race repugnance is no such constant and permanent factor in human affairs as members of the Teutonic peoples are apt to assume. Instead of being, as we Teutons suppose, the rule in the matter, we are the exception . . . and since the phenomenon is not of the essence of human nature, it may not always be as strong among the Teutonic peoples as it is today.”⁹ Thus in Brazil, where the negroes are more numerous than in any other South American country, there is no color line—not even against intermarriage.

⁹ Bryce, James, *South America*, New York, 1912, p. 480.

Consequently, if the physical differences form no permanent barrier to race harmony; if the question of superiority and inferiority has no basis in fact, then we must examine the cultural backgrounds in order to find the real basis for the problem of race relation in the United States. We have already noted that differences in cultural background constitute our major problem of the "melting-pot" in America.¹⁰ But it is perhaps easier to fuse the many nationalistic cultures of our foreign-born population than it is to recognize and harmonize the two race cultures which are of our own making—*i.e.*, the American culture of the whites and the culture of the American negro. Undoubtedly the difference in these two American-made cultures constitutes the most persistent and real basis for our problem of race relations. It is, in short, our home-made cultural difference, more than difference in the physical make-up of the American and the African, that creates the problem. This does not imply that the solution to the problem of race relations is thereby easy. Artificial though they are, cultural elements, like tempered steel, will resist much wear and hammering, and bend only to fly back again when the pressure is released.

SLAVE CULTURE

From the time "Angele," first negro slave, was landed on the Virginia coast, 1619, to the close of the Civil War, we, the people of the United States, were engaged in the developing of two very different types of culture—one for the white man and the other for the negro. Slavery existed in the West Indies for more than a century before it was introduced into the United States,¹¹ and many of the slaves came to the United States from the West Indies, though many more were brought directly from Africa by Dutch, English, French, and Spanish ships, and later by the colonists themselves. Slavery existed in all the colonies. "In Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, Negro servants were as common as in Charleston. Among the aristocratic people of Boston, the slaveholding families included such names as Hopkins, Williams, Stiles, Edwards, Winthrop, Mather, and even Faneuil. In New York, the slaveholding families included the Murrays, the Chamberses, the Roosevelts, the Bayards, the Duanes, the Courtlandts, the Livingstons, the Nichollses, the Jays, and others whose names are still perpetuated in the designation of the streets of that great city."¹²

"In all the colonies, special laws, known as Black Codes, were made for the regulation of slave labor, and while these laws differed somewhat, the actual treatment of the slaves was everywhere substantially the

¹⁰ Chapter III.

¹¹ Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

same. Generally the slaveholders in all the colonies were the most enterprising class of people, and as a rule treated their slaves humanely; but there were many slaveholders of a low order of intelligence, and of irritable and vicious tempers who treated their slaves with great brutality. In proportion to the Negro population, there were about as many burnings of Negroes, and other barbaric ill-usages of them, in Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, as in Virginia, South Carolina, or Georgia." ¹³

But the trend of the economic development in the colonies and the climatic conditions finally led to the concentration of the bulk of the slave population in the Southern states. After the major work of clearing the forests had been completed, and the population turned to more intensive agriculture and the development of industries, slavery became unprofitable in the North and only a few of the more well-to-do families could afford to maintain them as servants. Traffic in slaves finally disappeared from the Northern states, and "by the time of the adoption of our Constitution, it had been legally terminated in all the Northern states except Delaware." ¹⁴ Thus for almost a century, prior to the Civil War, slavery had been concentrated in the Southern states, where extensive agriculture and single crops were the rule, and where the climate made it less expensive to house and care for the slaves. Because the negro was unprofitable and required more care in the North, many of the Northern communities prohibited even free negroes remaining in them, and enforced the rule, "NO NEGRO DARE STAY IN THIS TOWN OVER NIGHT." Had the negro remained an economic asset to the North, as he did in the South, it is doubtful if the Proclamation of Emancipation would have come as early as it did!

Consequently, we must regard the institution of slavery in this country as definitely a responsibility belonging to the North as well as to the South; and the sentiments which later arose against slavery sprang more from the pocketbook than from the heart. Both sections of the country have had a hand in the building up of the two incompatible cultures—the slave culture for the negro; and the free culture for the whites. Curiously enough, however, the attitude taken by the two sections towards the problem of race relations is vastly different: the South, as we shall see, has a dread and fear of the negro action in mass, though it appreciates and often feels real affection for the individual negro; the North, on the other hand, professes an attitude of equality for the negro in mass, yet views with suspicion and hatred the individual negro. These attitudes both arise out of the conflict of the free culture with the slave culture, but

¹³ Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

their difference comes from the difference of association which the two sections have had with the negro population.

Whatever the original culture of the African in his native land may have been, it was very largely supplanted by the culture which developed under slavery.¹⁵ Allowing for the difference in temperament, it is quite possible to find in the slave culture ample explanation for most of the "negro characteristics" which hamper his progress, and which are often ascribed to his original inferior nature.

A brief examination of the slave culture and the social system which fostered it, will help to make more clear the bearing which it has on the present-day problem of race relations. In the first place, we must remember that the negroes were brought to America and marketed in much the same manner as mules were marketed, and much the same policies governed their treatment as governed the treatment given to livestock by plantation owners and livestock breeders. Hence the whites came to regard the negroes in the category of "black beasts," treating them kindly so long as they were obedient, faithful, and productive; using the lash when they were sullen, disobedient, treacherous, and unproductive.

They were given no more share in the white man's culture than was given to the mules and oxen. Because they were ignorant, and had no knowledge of the technique of agriculture, they were worked largely in gangs in the fields, and only the more favored and more apt were trained for servants about the house of the owner. They were not schooled in farm management. They were not even concerned with managing their own households; everything was provided for them; all thinking was done for them. They did what they were told to do—no more—and in the absence of the lash or threats of the lash, there was no hurry about doing that. Like the mule and the ox, they had no cares beyond those of the labor enforced upon them. There was no future, or "rainy day," no social position, no expanding standard of living—nothing of the sort to stimulate the initiative or arouse the ambition to self-development and personal attainment. Generally, therefore, the negroes on the plantations were of a care-free, happy-go-lucky, jovial, playful, child-like nature. Their owners did all the worrying, planning, providing, managing, and directing. Like children who are ever in fear of a flogging, the negro quickly learned that a lie would sometimes "save his skin," and little wonder that he became quite an adept at "spinning appropriate yarns"—it was nothing more than an indication of his ability to adapt himself

¹⁵ See Dowd, Jerome, *The Negro Races*, Vol. II, for an interesting description of the original culture of the negro races.

to the requirements of survival! Then, too, the negro is no less endowed with an impelling curiosity than is the white man. It did not take him long to note that his owner was enjoying good things to eat, wearing a watch, drinking mint juleps, and smoking cigars or a pipe. He possessed much the same urge that we may every day notice in normal children—to sample or examine the things which grown-ups seem to enjoy. Consequently the negro slave found it convenient to develop a habit of “sneaking things” or “toting.” Now, this is a cultural trait not at all foreign to the white race, especially when compelled to live under conditions of restraint and oppression. For example the Armenians have these cultural twists of lying, stealing, and cheating, without any compunction whatever, because for so many generations they have lived in a “buffer state” and under a political régime where such practices seem almost a requisite for survival.

Now, when suddenly the negro awakened to find he was a free man, he looked upon his cultural background much the same as the whites looked upon theirs. He was not conscious of the severe handicaps of three centuries of habits formed under slavery. To a large extent he continued to live as he had always lived—any other way was foreign to him. Nor could he be expected to change rapidly. The whites looked upon these cultural twists with much misgiving and even alarm, whereas they had not thought of them as being much out of place in a slave. Many writers, like Dr. W. D. Weatherford, have attempted, in a more or less sympathetic way, to explain that such characteristics belong to the nature of the negro—an index of his inferiority to the white.¹⁶ But it is hardly necessary to go to Africa to find explanations of, or foundations for, cultural warp and twist. The shiftlessness, lack of foresight, easy-going nature and indifference, still characteristic of so many negroes, are traits which could only be expected to develop out of the slave culture we have just described.

Another prominent feature of the slave culture is that which relates to the family system and the question of morals. Here also many writers go back to the “primitive nature” of the negro for explanation. This is hardly necessary, nor is it likely to prove the point. Slavery gave to the negro an altogether different family system from that of the white owner. As we have just noted, the negroes were regarded in the same category as mules and oxen. Pure monogamy, chastity, and a deep sense of family unity were not compatible with slavery in which negro women were not only valued as servants and field hands, but perhaps even more as

¹⁶ Weatherford, W. D., *Present Forces in Negro Progress*, New York, 1912.

breeders. Added to this were the living conditions which became as deeply rooted in slave culture as did any other factor. The little one-room cabin (by no means extinct even to this date) without a glass window, with only an open fireplace for heating and cooking, and with practically no furniture, housed not only single families but often several other adults, male and female. There was not sufficient privacy to permit of the development of any high standard of morality. The fact that the negro population withstood more than three centuries of this sort of moral stunting, and at the end of it were able to rise, is, in itself, perhaps the clearest evidence of racial possibilities. It is not to be wondered at that there still exists a considerable amount of moral looseness, juvenile neglect, family desertion, neglect of the aged, and cruelty.¹⁷ Especially have writers generally called attention to the low conception which the negro has of morals, and some have indicated that this "defect in character" may best be described as "unmorality" rather than immorality.¹⁸ But with the degree of social isolation which has characterized the negro life since the Civil War, it is to be expected that the old slave culture would hardly yet have given way entirely.

Still another phase of slave culture which must be considered is that which is related to his intellectual development. Slavery offered practically no chance for the negro to obtain even the rudiments of an education beyond a training in the art of serving his master, and this art the great majority seem to have learned well and performed with a faithfulness that won for them "a warm spot in the hearts of the true Southerners." But slave education did not extend to those matters which would help to make the negro an independent thinker, or capable of looking after his own affairs. In a sense he was made to believe, like the Russian peasant under the Tsarist régime, that education was not for him; that it would make him unhappy, create trouble for him. The majority of the slaveholders opposed education of the slaves on the ground that it made them unmanageable and "no account." The great majority of the plantation negroes knew nothing of farm management, and less about methods of making paying crops. They knew cotton, cane, corn, or yams, but nothing more. They had not learned how to till the ground effectively even for these crops. Seldom did they have a garden-spot of their own. All their needs were looked after by the plantation boss, who told them

¹⁷ Hart, A. B., *The Southern South*, D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1912, p. 116.

¹⁸ *The Negro in Chicago*, Report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations, 1922, pp. 438, 447.

Odum, Howard O., *A Study in Race Traits, Tendencies and Prospects*, Columbia University, 1910.

each day what to do and how to do what they were told. They had no money and would not have known what to do with it if they had any. Some few knew how to count sufficiently to make change of small amounts, and perhaps ten per cent of the Southern negroes could scrawl their names. Very few indeed knew what the inside of a school looked like. But, cared for he was, busy as he was, he was happy and loyal. When we stop to think of what little educational equipment the negro had, and how little he knew of the practical arts of living and shaping an independent career, we are not astonished at the fact that such a large majority remained with their old masters even after being emancipated. One look into the great unknown world of "independence" with all that it required in the way of responsibility, planning, worry, risk, and competition, was quite enough to make him feel satisfied, at least for a time, with an oral contract with his old master, enabling him to live in much the same fashion as before the Emancipation Proclamation.¹⁹

We have touched upon merely a few of the major aspects of American slave culture—a culture which, as we have said, grew up alongside the American free culture, and which became so fixed in the habits of thought of both blacks and whites that it is as difficult for the negro to emancipate himself from it as it is for the whites to forget it. It is the conflict between these two cultures, both the products of white Americans, North and South, which forms the main basis for the problem of race relations in the United States.

THE EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION AND THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION ON THE PROBLEM

In 1863 there were 3,960,000 slaves in the Southern states—a population almost equal to the total population of the United States at the time of the first Census. The total value of the slaves was approximately \$2,000,000,000, or an average of \$500.00 per slave. The total negro population in the United States in 1860, including those in the Northern states, was 4,441,830 or 14.1 per cent of the total population of the nation, though 92.2 per cent were concentrated in the Southern states. But even in the South the distribution of the negro population was not uniform. There were many counties, especially in the highlands, where there were very few, and there was very little shift after emancipation.²⁰ Consequently, this vast negro population was concentrated in the rich agricultural belt,

¹⁹ Holtzclaw, William H., *The Black Man's Burden*, New York, 1915, pp. 16-17.

²⁰ Murphy, E. G., *The Present South*, New York, 1910, pp. 182-201, quoted in Wolfe, A. B., *Readings in Social Problems*, New York, 1916, pp. 677 ff.

known as the "plantation belt," and in many of these counties the negroes far outnumbered the whites. Thus in Beaufort County, S. C., there were ten negroes for every white person, and in the whole state of South Carolina there were seven negroes for every five whites. In the Mississippi delta, they outnumbered the whites two to one, and for the state as a whole there were three negroes for every two whites. The population of Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia was practically half negro, and many counties were almost wholly black.

Now let us apply the principles of race relations which we outlined at the beginning of this Chapter. Here are two races with widely divergent cultures; one a free culture and the other a slave culture, one the culture of the white race and the other the culture of the blacks. So long as the blacks remained in slavery there was no race friction. Slavery fixed the status of each race so that there was not even the semblance of competition for prestige, place, or power. The white race, though in many places a minority race, was dominant. Every element of the slave culture unfitted the negro for self-government, to say nothing of sharing the responsibilities and prestige of the whites. The whites of the South did not hate the negro—on the contrary there was often a profound affection for the "Ol' Uncle Mose" and the colored "Mammy." Nevertheless, the whites regarded the negroes as vastly inferior beings. The Southern prosperity rested upon black shoulders, and the whites recognized this fact; but at the same time, the whites sincerely believed that the negroes would starve to death if allowed to manage things for themselves—that they were by nature incapable of self-direction.

Now, all of a sudden, by the Emancipation Proclamation, this fixed status is swept away, and the negro is a free man. Theoretically, at least, he is on a par with his former owner—he is at liberty, with his slave culture, to compete for power, place, and prestige with the white man and his free culture.

The whites of the North expected the negroes at once to rise to the occasion, take the reins of government and exterminate all white opposition that stood in their way. That is what they (with their background of free culture) would have done, had they been enslaved and oppressed, and they imagined that the negro felt the same way about the matter. They looked on, but to their utter amazement, nothing very dramatic was happening. They could not understand why, unless it was because the negro was being intimidated and was afraid to act. They did not understand, and many to this day do not understand, why a people will not quickly discard an inferior status and adopt at once a superior one when given

the right to do so. The feelings which the Northern emancipators had for the slave were rooted in a far different cultural background. The negro might imitate the white man, but he could not feel at home in doing so—not until he had completely freed himself from the habits of thought, the standards of conduct, and concepts of responsibility and duty which had become second nature to him during the two hundred and fifty years of slavery. Consequently, he remained inert and, to a surprising extent, satisfied with the status to which he had become accustomed.

Thus, not fully understanding the true situation, the Northern whites began a campaign designed to establish the negro in his newly granted rights. It was a campaign hardly less humiliating and terrorizing to the Southern whites than were the campaigns of the Northern armies while the Civil War was at its worst. The armies had shattered the hopes of the Confederacy and had wrecked Southern prosperity and reduced it to wretched poverty; but the Southerners might still cling to their dignity, their pride, and the dominance of the white man's culture. But now, as if to add insult to injury, the Northern whites were intent upon compelling them to recognize the negro as their social equal and to share power, place and prestige with their former slaves. To the Southerner this meant the surrender of white culture to the culture of the negro—that inferior, "beast" culture which we have just briefly described. Thus it was that the problem of race relations began to take on the fierce and horrifying aspects of race conflict, though the major alignment was not as much against the negroes as it was against the activities and aims of the Northern whites.

The Northern whites launched their ill-advised campaign on two different fronts: (1) through establishing and conducting schools for the negro, and (2) through sending political delegates and organizers, now known as "carpet-baggers," to lead the negroes into rebellion against the Southern whites and to establish the negro in power politically. While the motives back of the educational drive were no doubt largely sincere and honest, the motives back of the carpet-baggers are now candidly admitted by historians to have been corrupt, scheming, and exploiting. Most of the carpet-baggers were personally motivated by desires to share the spoils that might easily be had by "advising" the ignorant negro office holder. Incidentally, the Republican Party saw in the movement the possibility of gaining the negro votes, and thus perpetuating that party in power. Against these movements the Southern whites threw every power and resource at their command. They would not have objected so much to the establishment of schools for the negroes had not the carpet-baggers

extended their interests in them and attempted to force the white and colored children to attend the same schools. Then, too, many of these schools were used by the carpet-baggers as propaganda centers, and the negro was not given the instruction he so much needed. "The teachers and the supervisors of the schools were largely carpet-baggers. Many of the White people regarded the public schools and also the Freedmen's Bureau schools as only a disguised scheme of the carpet-baggers to enslave the White people, and place them under the domination of their former slaves."²¹

Two general types of schools were thus established by the Northerners for the education of the negro—the public schools, and the schools conducted with Federal government aid administered by the Freedmen's Bureau, Washington. The schools conducted by the Freedmen's Bureau were aided, financially and in providing teachers, by the Northern missionary societies and religious organizations, and these organizations continued many of the schools on their own account after the Freedmen's Bureau was discontinued at the close of 1869.

"It was a pathetic sight to see old gray-haired people crowding into the schools alongside the children, with the inarticulate feeling that reading and writing would carry them upward. The Northern missionary societies kept up these elementary schools, and then began to found schools and colleges for the training of the most gifted members of the race. Out of their funds, and with the aid of the Freedmen, they put up school houses, collected money to establish institutions like Fisk University in Nashville, Leland and Straight Universities in New Orleans, and Atlanta University. Such colleges were on the same pattern as colleges for Whites both North and South, adopting the then almost universal curriculum of Greek, Latin, and mathematics, along with smatterings of other subjects; they included preparatory schools, which, as in some White colleges both North and South, included the larger number of students."²²

The Freedmen's Bureau, during its five years of existence, established 4,239 schools of varying terms, and employed 9,307 teachers of very meager training, and reported a total enrollment of 247,333 pupils. When the Bureau was closed it reported 1,327 negro teachers employed in these schools.²³ Most of the teachers were at first Northern whites; but gradually the Southern whites took possession of the schools, and at the close of the carpet-bag régime heartily supported the public schools, making separate provisions for white and colored children.²⁴ An interesting sidelight on the character of these schools is given in the fascinating

²¹ Dowd, Jerome, *The Negro in America*, New York, 1926, p. 149.

²² Hart, A. B., *The Southern South*, D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1912, pp. 309-310.

²³ Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

Ibid.

biographical sketch of William Holtzclaw who, through sheer pluck and great faith, established one of the leading institutions for negro education in Mississippi, Utica Institute and Training School.

"I distinctly remember that there were no Colored school-teachers at that time (the latter days of the Reconstruction) and, in my locality, there were no Northern White teachers. The few Colored schools that existed at all were taught by Southern white men and women. Before I was old enough to attend school myself, I used to go along now and then with the others, and I remember that one of these Southern White teachers took a great liking to me, and, passing our house one day on his way home, predicted to my mother that I would some day be a lawyer. I did not know what that meant then, but I got the impression that it meant that I was going to be something great, and I never forgot it.

"Almost as soon as the Negro pupils got as far as 'baker,' and certainly when they got as far as 'abasement,' in the old blue-backed speller, they were made assistant teachers, and in a short while, relieving the White teachers, they became the only teachers we had. When I was seven years old there was not a White teacher in the community. The Colored teachers were doing pretty good work, but the best of them had advanced only about as far as the fourth grade. There was one thing, however, that they had learned to perfection, and that was to use the rod, and of this kind of education I got my full share every day."²⁵

As we have just said, it was not so much the founding of negro schools that aroused the bitter resentment of the Southern whites; but it was especially the aims and activities of the carpet-baggers. Living, as they were, surrounded by a negro population that far outnumbered their own; knowing the intensely emotional character of the negro; also knowing how ignorant he was of public affairs, and how incapable he was of self-direction—knowing all this, the Southerner could not help regarding the activities of the carpet-baggers with deep concern. They had faith and confidence in the negro taken individually; but they dreaded what he would do under the spell of mob psychology, and under the leadership of unscrupulous carpet-baggers. It is impossible to describe the horror and fear that possessed the whites at the prospects of black dominance under such leadership. Consequently, the bitterest part of the Civil War was fought during these terrible first few years of the period of Reconstruction. And this, it must be admitted, the Southern whites won!

The Southerners faced a situation with which reason and orderly justice could not deal, and especially while the South was still occupied by Northern troops. The carpet-baggers, "negro sympathizers," and aggressive negroes were rounded up and roughly treated. Every community

²⁵ Holtzclaw, William, *The Black Man's Burden*, New York, 1915, p. 14.

had its secret vigilance committee and the hooded "night riders" of the old Ku Klux Klan with flaring torches and brandishing "Cat-o'-Nine tails," swopped down nightly, seized those who were suspected of urging "race equality" and "hustled them away."

When the carpet-bag régime had finally been driven from the South, the whites of the South settled down to the sober task of protecting themselves and white dominance from future "invasions," and to the working out of policies and programs of race relations which would insure supremacy of the white free culture. We shall deal with these policies and programs in a later Chapter; it is sufficient here to point out that the Southern whites have employed every possible legal and social device to insure white supremacy and avoid social competition with the negroes.

NEGRO PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH

Supremacy of the Southern whites does not mean, as many people of the North still believe, that the South has been wholly unfair to the negro. Perhaps nowhere in the United States has the real worth and ability of the negro been more quickly recognized—and recognized in a way favorable to the progress of the individual negro. It is doubtful if the negro can find anywhere more bitter enemies to his progress than he meets in the industrial cities of the North, especially when his number is sufficient to count in the labor market, or to influence the "shade" of the neighborhood, or to affect property values.

Perhaps there is no greater evidence of the negroes' progress, and their ability to rise, than that presented in Tables 21 and 22.

Perhaps the greatest need of the negro, in his long and hard struggle "up from slavery," is that sort of practical education which would fit him for economic independence. He cannot hope to emancipate himself from his background of slave culture, much less gain the recognition which will win for him the fruits of his citizenship, without traveling a considerable distance along the road of economic independence. The early point of

TABLE 21
ECONOMIC PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO

	1866	1922	Gain in fifty-six years
Homes owned	12,000	650,000	638,000
Farms operated	20,000	1,000,000	980,000
Business establishments	2,100	60,000	57,000
Wealth accumulated	\$20,000,000	\$1,500,000,000	\$1,480,000,000

* *Negro Year Book*, 1921-22, Tuskegee, Alabama, p. 37.

TABLE 22 *
EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO

	1866	1922	Gain in fifty-six years
Per cent literate	10	80	70
Colleges and normal schools.....	15	500	485
Students in public schools.....	100,000	2,000,000	1,900,000
Teachers in all schools.....	600	44,000	43,400
Property for higher education.....	\$ 60,000	\$30,000,000	\$29,940,000
Annual expenditure for education.....	\$700,000	\$28,000,000	\$27,300,000
Funds raised by negroes.....	\$ 80,000	\$ 2,000,000	\$1,920,000
Church property value.....		\$90,000,000	

* *Negro Year Book*, 1921-22, Tuskegee, Alabama, p. 37.

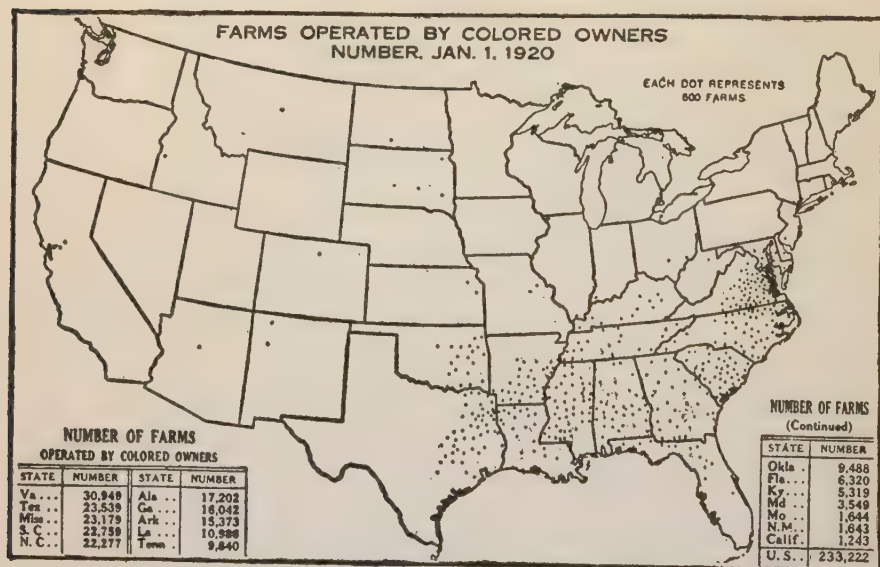
view of negro education was away from, rather than towards this goal; it was designed more to make a "cultured gentleman" instead of providing him with the knowledge and training that would make an efficient and independent producer. The examples of Tuskegee, Hampton, and Utica Institutes, under the able leadership of colored educators who command the respect and support of whites and negroes the nation over, have done much to start the race on this road to economic independence.²⁶

The educational facilities for the negro have gained in scope and quality, but in a considerable proportion of the negro population they are still far below the standard of the facilities provided for the whites. The 1920 census indicated that there were 3,471,277 negro children of school age, and that but little over 50 per cent were attending school—Louisiana having the lowest per cent of negro children in school (42 per cent), of any of the states. The school term is shorter, as a rule, for the negro schools than for the whites; in Louisiana the difference is 62 days. The expenditure per child in school (while not as exact a measure of educational advantage as some have tried to make of it, because the cost of running a small school for a few pupils is practically the same as for a school filled to capacity) is tending to be equalized in many sections of the South, but it still shows a most unfavorable contrast in Georgia, where \$16.21 is expended per white child and \$2.38 per negro child; Louisiana spends \$25.37 per white child and \$3.49 per negro child; South Carolina spends \$19.33 per white child and \$2.06 per negro child. According to the 1920 Census, illiteracy among the whites has been reduced to six per cent, while among the negroes one out of every five is

²⁶ Bryce, James, *The American Commonwealth*, 1916 edition, New York, Vol. II, p. 522.

illiterate. But, when we consider the fact that the negroes' educational opportunities have not been of the best, this is not an unfavorable showing. Most of the illiterates are among the older negroes; the younger generation is getting an educational opportunity that is better than that provided for even the rural whites of a generation ago.²⁷

FIGURE 15 *



* The largest number of farms operated by negro owners is found in Eastern Virginia, Southeastern South Carolina, and Northeastern Texas, all areas of cheap land. In Virginia there are almost twice as many farms operated by negro owners as by negro tenants, and in Florida the numbers are about equal, but in the Cotton Belt tenants greatly exceed owners in number. Of the 233,222 farms in the United States operated by negro and non-white owners, only 9,153 are in the North and West. However, 71 per cent of the negro and non-white farmers in the North and West own their farms, as compared with 24 per cent in the South. The dots in the Western States represent mostly farms owned and operated by Indians, Chinese, and Japanese.—*Year Book*, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1923, pp. 517-518.

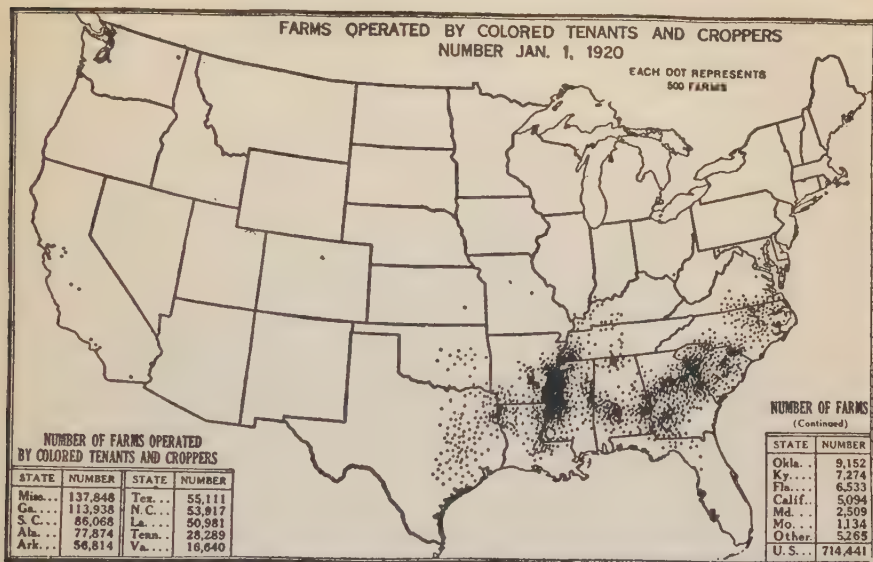
The progress of the negro, unlike the progress of the foreign-born, is dependent upon his "working out his own salvation"; he cannot merge his life into the life of the white population, as does the foreign-born, and thus in a generation or two be abreast with American progress. Hence, the development of wealth and of education has depended and must still depend upon the development of race leadership. The whites have been

²⁷ Dowd, *op. cit.*, Ch. XXI.

generous in contributing towards the support of the agencies that are making for negro progress and welfare, but he must build his own social machinery through which these forces can work.

Almost one-fourth of the negro farmers own their own farms, and practically all of these are located in the Southern states—approximately

FIGURE 16*



* The negro tenant and cropper farms or holdings are located mostly in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, in the Black Prairie of Alabama, and in the upper Coastal Plain and Piedmont of Georgia and the Carolinas—districts having the richest soils in the Old South. Many of these “farms” are merely allotments to croppers on plantations, the owner of the plantation furnishing the “cropper” with his mule, his farm implements, and sometimes, even, with food, until the crop is “made” in the fall and the proceeds are divided between them. Negro tenants are much fewer in Texas because of historical reasons. The dots shown in California represent mostly Japanese and Chinese tenant farmers.—*Year Book*, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1923, pp. 517-518.

240,000 farms of the South are operated by negro owners. (See Figure 15.) In Virginia, where negro holdings are perhaps larger than in any of the other states, the negro owners outnumber the negro tenants two to one.

Three-fourths of the negro farm operators are tenants (see Figure 16), and the vast majority of these are tenants under the “cropper system”—which is the old plantation slightly altered. Instead of using negro labor in gangs, as in the slave days, under the “cropper system” each

negro is treated as a share renter, and is allotted a small "farm," about what the plantation owner considers the negro and his family will be able to tend. As a rule the plantation owner furnishes the negro "cropper" with the necessary seed, a mule, a plow, and other equipment, and provides the hut to house the negro family—in many cases no better than the old slave "cabin." As a "cropper" the negro not only lives much the same life as was lived in those earlier days, but he does not learn to become independent. In both technique of agriculture and matters of farm management he is still dependent. The following description of life on a plantation is still true in many sections of the Old South:

"The agreement between him (the plantation owner) and father, which was nothing more than a verbal contract between them, provided that he was to furnish the land, mules, feed, seed,—in fact, everything but labor,—and it further provided that he was to help do the work, and receive as his share three-fourths of all that the land produced. We were to receive the other one-fourth.

"Although he agreed to help, he seldom did any manual labor. He was in the fields every day, however, going from place to place among the various Negroes who were serving under contracts similar to ours. At one time my father ventured, in the most modest way, to call his attention to the fact that he was doing no work. But he very kindly, yet firmly, explained that he was doing more work in a day without a tool in his hand than my father was doing in a month. He tried to make my father understand this. I do not know whether my father understood it or not, but I could not.

"We never prepared our land for cultivation, but simply planted the seeds on the hard ground in March and April and covered them with a 'turn plough;' then we cultivated the crop for two months. Naturally, the returns were small. When the crop was divided in the fall, three loads of corn were thrown into the White man's crib and one into ours. But when it came to dividing the cotton, which was done up in bales weighing five hundred pounds each, and which sold for seventeen cents a pound, every bale went to the White man. He was at great pains to explain to my father, each year, that we ate our share during the year. . . .

"Our landlord furnished us food from his smoke house from March to July, and from September to December. This food consisted of corn meal, out of which we made corn-pone by mixing it with water and salt, and smoked sides of meat, from the hogs we raised. All the rest of the time we had to find something else to do, away from the plantation, in order to keep supplied with bread and clothes, which were scanty enough. . . .

"Each year the landlord would 'run' us, and he would charge from twenty-five to one hundred per cent for the advances, according to the time of the year. No wonder we ate up our crops.²⁸

But, that the black man is slowly freeing himself from this traditional dependence is not only to be seen in the growth of negro ownership, but

²⁸ Holtzclaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

also in the progress of agricultural education among the negro farm operators. In 1920 there were 157 negro men and 91 negro women employed in the county extension work, together with two able negro demonstrators who were employed by the States Relations Service as general field agents. The work done by these educators was far-reaching, not only from the standpoint of improving the crop production of the negro farmers, but also in improving the relations between the races.²⁹

In 1926 there were 163 negro agricultural agents and 107 negro home-demonstration agents working out of the state agricultural colleges (for negroes) in the Southern states, and they are further augmented by agents furnished by Hampton and Tuskegee. There were 184 counties in which there were negro agricultural agents, and in all 293 agents giving either full time to a single county or serving several counties.³⁰ Further contributing to this progress is the development of agricultural courses in the public schools, the Rosenwald schools, and in the independent negro schools and normal schools. Especially in agriculture, the indications are that the next generation of negro farmers will make more progress towards independence and efficient living than has been made since the day of emancipation—they are in a better position to build for themselves, since the old slave culture is rapidly giving way to a new and more liberating culture.

The outlook of the negro in industry, however, is hardly as hopeful as are his prospects in agriculture. Approximately one-third of the negro population now lives in the city, and to a large extent are employed as day-laborers in industry, though a considerable proportion are employed as domestic servants. Generally speaking, even where there is no discrimination in matters of wages and working conditions, they are assigned to the least paid and least agreeable jobs. But perhaps of even more significance is the fact that they are housed in the poorest quarters where there is most danger to health and morals. Bad as is the housing of the negroes on the plantations, it is not nearly as menacing as are the conditions which exist in the typical negro quarters of our industrial centers.

It is supposed to be the strain and stress of industrial conditions that causes the increase in insanity among negroes since emancipation. Doubtless, too, social disease and liquor—both curses of which the "old time negro" knew nothing—have contributed much to this mental breakdown.³¹

²⁹ *Year Book*, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1921, p. 36.

³⁰ Hart, Joseph K., "The Negro Builds for Himself," *Survey*, February 1, 1925, pp. 563 ff.

³¹ Bryce, James, *American Commonwealth*, New York, 1916, Vol. II, p. 523.

A similar effect of urbanization is to be noted in the unfavorable contrast of the infant mortality rates and the general death-rates of the city and rural negro populations. In 1924 the infant mortality rates in the birth-registration-area of the United States was 70.8 per 1,000 births; but for the negroes the rate was 114.1 per 1000 births; while the white population lost but 66.8 per 1000 births.³² The infant mortality rate in the negro population of Chicago, for the same year, was 118 deaths per 1000 births.³³ This, with few exceptions, is the contrast which most industrial centers show with the general population. This same situation is reflected in the general death-rates: The death-rate for the birth registration area of the United States, including all classes, was 11.8 per 1,000 population—12.8 per 1,000 in the cities and 10.9 in the rural population.³⁴ However, the death-rate for the negro population of the United States in 1924 was 17.6 per 1,000 population. In the North, where the negro is, for the most part, located in the large industrial centers, the death-rate is higher than in the Southern states having the largest negro population living in rural communities.

TABLE 23

DEATH-RATES IN THE NEGRO POPULATION IN STATES NORTH AND SOUTH:
1924 *

<i>Northern states</i>		<i>Southern states</i>	
<i>State</i>	<i>Death-rate</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Death-rate</i>
Illinois	25	Georgia	14
Wisconsin	24.7	Mississippi	14.2
Michigan	21.2	Virginia	16.4
Ohio	22	Tennessee	19.4
Indiana	22.1	South Carolina	15.6
New York	23	Louisiana	17.5

* *Mortality Statistics* (1924), United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, p. 16.

While, as a worker, the negro is proving satisfactory—in a measure meeting the needs of expanding industry since the great restriction of immigration—it is increasingly apparent that the stress and strain of industry and the unfavorable living conditions are serious obstacles to his real success.

³² *Report on Infant Mortality*, United States Bureau of Census, Washington, 1924, p. 39.

³³ Harris, H. L., "Negro Mortality Rates in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, March, 1927.

³⁴ *Mortality Statistics*, United States Census, Washington, 1924, p. 12.

INFLUENCE OF POPULATION SHIFT ON THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS

Just as the center of population for the United States as a whole moved Westward at a rapid rate until the disappearance of the frontier, so it has been with the center of negro population. In 1880 the center of negro population was located in the Northwestern corner of Georgia; by 1890 it had moved 20 miles farther West; by 1900 it had moved 10 miles more; and by 1910 it had gone six miles further. The 1920 Census indicated that the center is moving rapidly toward the Northeast (9.4 miles to the East and 19.4 miles to the North).³⁵

This movement of the center of negro population has been even more marked since 1920, and represents, to no small extent, the growing tendencies towards a new economic adjustment for the negro in American life. This movement to the North and East has generally been interpreted as being wholly due to the shift of the negro to the Northern industrial centers; but this is not entirely the case—much of the movement is due to the negro moving into the farm-ownership class, the center of which is in Virginia, and to the North of the plantation belt.

The first noticeable drift of negro population following the Civil War was from the rural communities of the South to the cities of the South. Migrations to the North from 1860 to 1910 amounted to only 3.2 per cent of the negro population, while in the twenty years, 1890 to 1910, the urban

TABLE 24
DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION
1860 TO 1920 *

Census year	Per cent of negro population in Southern states	Per cent of native negro population of the United States remaining in state of birth	Per cent urban in negro population	Per cent rural in negro population
1860	92.2	(no data)	(no data)	(no data)
1890	90.3	85.2	19.8	80.2
1900	89.7	84.4	22.7	77.3
1910	89.0	83.4	27.4	72.6
1920	85.2	80.1	34.0	66.0

* Rossiter, W. S., *Census Monographs*, No. IV, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1922, p. 124.

³⁵ Hill, J. A., "Recent Northward Migration of the Negro," *American Sociological Association Publication*, 1923, Vol. XVIII.

population grew from 19.8 of the negro population to 27.4. Thus, down to 1910 the problem of race relations was essentially a problem centered in the South. From 1910 to 1920 there was a migration of 3.8 per cent of the negro population out of the South—in other words, during that decade there was a greater migration than had taken place during the previous fifty years. This decade also showed the greatest shift from the rural to the urban community of the negro population—a shift which amounted to 6.6 per cent of the total negro population. In 1920 14.8 per cent of the total negro population was located in the North and West, and 34 per cent lived in cities. Since 1920 the movement has been even more pronounced, and it would probably not be far amiss to say that fully a fifth of the negro population is now in the cities of the North and West.

A number of explanations have been advanced for this rapid drift to the North and to the cities. Some attribute it to their harsh treatment in the South. Others point out that the World War uprooted thousands of negroes and gave them their first real opportunity to get away from the traditional setting. Still others find the chief reason in the recurrent failure of the cotton crops owing to the ravages of the boll weevil. However, perhaps the most potent factor behind the increasing migration has been the wage offered in the industries of the North, and the activities of Northern corporations in recruiting negro labor. Some concerns have had employment representatives in the South since before we entered the World War and their representations to the negroes have not always been true to fact. Whatever the causes, the fact remains that shift of population has been taking place very rapidly—and it is this speed, perhaps even more than the volume of the shift, that has created most acute problems of race relations in the Northern industrial centers. Thus, the problem can no longer be regarded as belonging solely to the South; but it is now a problem of national scope; and, if anything, more disturbing to the North than to the South, because there have not developed in the North definite policies and programs of race relations to safeguard the interests of either race.

It has been pointed out by the Committee on Race Relations of Detroit that the negro population of that city has doubled since 1920, and that "the industries that brought this large additional supply of labor, have washed their hands of all responsibility for meeting the ordinary needs of these living men, women and children."³⁸ As in most of the cities of the North where industries were bringing in large numbers of negroes, not even the civil authorities were consulted, and much less were there any

³⁸ Lasker, Bruno, "The Negro in Detroit," *Survey*, April 15, 1927, pp. 72-73.

provisions made for housing and health. The rapid development of the automobile industry enabled the negro to be absorbed in industry without any immediate display of race friction; but the problem of housing, recreation facilities, schooling, and health have given the Race Relations Committee no small amount of anxiety. The situation in Chicago, East St. Louis, Tulsa, Indianapolis, Columbus, and many other cities of the North has already shown the problem to be serious.

Thus, while the blight of lynching has been constantly dwindling in the South, the negro faces an even more menacing phenomenon of race riots in the North. The toll of life and the terror spread in these riots since 1919 has clearly indicated that the North is no more tolerant of racial competition than is the South, and the absence of that personal consideration for the individual negro makes it even more difficult for the negro to secure protection in the North than in the South. In 1919 in the Chicago race riot thirty-eight people were killed.⁸⁷ Since the World War there have been a score of such riots, each claiming a number of lives and leaving an aftermath of hatred and terror. The situation, as it now stands, wavers on the unstable basis of crowd emotionalism, and there is a most urgent need for the development of sound and sane policies and programs which will permit the two races to live together without friction.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is there any race prejudice in your community? Explain the reason. Under what circumstances does race prejudice develop?
2. At present our laws exclude Oriental immigrants. Are there any good reasons for excluding these people while admitting immigrants from South Europe? Explain.

⁸⁷ *The Negro in Chicago*, Chicago Committee on Race Relations, Chicago, 1922, p. 600.

3. Why is it that the United States has a problem of race relations affecting the negro, while no such problem is apparent in tropical South America, though the blacks are as numerous there as they are in the United States?
4. What are the chief features of the culture that developed in the negro population under slavery? Contrast the slave culture with that of the Southern Whites.
5. Show the difference in the attitude of the whites of the North and the whites of the South in regard to the negro. Which do you regard as being the more favorable to the social and economic progress of the negro?
6. Why were the negroes so slow to take advantage of their rights after the declaration of emancipation? How far can you change old group customs and habits by act of government?
7. What were the conditions and circumstances which gave rise to the old Ku Klux Klan? Are there any similar conditions and circumstances developing to-day that would cause such an organization to reappear? Why is it that people are not satisfied with orderly measures in dealing with the negroes *en masse*? What do people hope to gain by "taking the law in their hands" in such matters?
8. What evidence is there that the negro is making progress towards social and economic independence? What sort of educational program is most needed to make progress more rapid and certain? Is it likely that the negro will be as successful in industry as he will in agriculture?
9. What shift has taken place in the negro population since the Civil War? What have been the chief causes? How has this shift of the population affected the problem of race relations in the North and in the South?

CHAPTER 15

POLICIES AND PROGRAMS OF RACE RELATIONS

Now that we have noted the nature and importance of the problem of race relations in the United States, we are faced with the equally puzzling problem of what to do about it. We have seen how recent migration of the negro to the North and to the industrial centers makes it necessary to consider the problem no longer as a sectional affair belonging to the South, but a problem that is national in scope, and perhaps more menacing to the industrial centers of the North than to the rural communities of the "Black Belt." Consequently, any policy or program aiming at a solution to the problem of race relations must be viewed from a national point of view.

We should, however, be mindful of the fact that discussion of any policy or program of race relations is of itself dubious. The mere assertion that some policy and program is necessary to the promotion of the best interests of both races is at once met with a flood of protest. On the one hand, bitter resentment is quickly voiced by many mulattoes, who for the most part live in the North and who consider themselves superior to the "hat-in-hand," "obliging niggers" of the South.¹ Their attitude is seconded by a group of political theorists among Northern whites who have never come into close contact with the problem. Both of these groups declare emphatically that any suggestion of a national policy or program of race relations "is incompatible with the ideals of democracy." They insist that such efforts defeat the very ends which they aim to achieve; that unconsciously such policies and programs deepen the "race complex" in the public mind, and invariably lead to a separation of the races, instead of bringing them together. Even the use of the word *negro* is offensive to many mulattoes, as it seems to imply inferiority and something ugly. They deplore the way in which the newspapers always report them as "Negroes," sometimes spelling the word with a small *n*! They would prefer that no mention be made of race, that no attention be focused upon it, and that they be called simply "American," in the same category as

¹ *The Negro in Chicago*, Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Chicago, 1922, pp. 518-519.

Thomas, W. H., *The American Negro*, New York, 1901, p. 292.

the whites. But the mulatto, whose white blood puts him in a class almost by himself, nevertheless is regarded as belonging to the negro race. His welfare and progress are bound up with the welfare and progress of the negro race. Such objections must, therefore, be overruled, and attention directed to the difficult task of developing a sane and just policy and program that will lessen race friction and at the same time protect the best interests of both races.

Even before the Civil War certain public men and social reformers devoted considerable thought and effort towards the betterment of race relations. But the Emancipation Proclamation placed the problem in the front rank of American issues. Especially since the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution there has been no issue that has been more persistently or more passionately before the American public. There has not been a single national party convention, nor a single session of Congress since the close of the Civil War that has not debated some phase of the problem of race relations.

The very nature of most of the proposed policies and programs reflects the depth to which the problem of race relations has cut into the public mind. But unlike problems of commerce or industry, there has been very little *rational* and *scientific* thought or method applied to it. Race relations seem so to rouse the emotions as to inhibit rational understanding and just considerations. This largely explains why it has not been possible to unite either the whites or the blacks behind any remedy.

POLICIES AND PROGRAMS PROPOSED AND ATTEMPTED

The champions of policies and programs on race relations are divided into eight different camps: (1) a large group believe that the problem of race relations can be solved through *political action*—through granting full and unrestricted civil rights to the negro, equal in every respect to those granted to and exercised by the whites. (2) A smaller and perhaps a less stable group advocate *race amalgamation*, i.e., they would wipe out the "color line" by encouraging intermarriage of the races. (3) Another group, and one which dates back further than perhaps any other, sees no hope of the two races solving the problem on the same soil. They believe that the negro should be *returned to Africa* where he can set up his own government and social institutions. (4) One group sees the possibility, and more or less remote probability, of a separate and independent "*free state*" for the negroes in the South—the setting aside, as it were, a definite section of the South as exclusively belonging to the negroes, in much the same manner that the Indian problem was handled. (5) Another group is com-

posed of those who are firmly convinced that the negro is by nature inferior to the white man, and that the white man is therefore his natural guardian. They would revise the present constitutional rights which, so they say, "were mistakenly and hastily granted the negro" and establish a sort of caste system guaranteeing white supremacy. (6) A more hopeful group believes that the negro is here to stay and that the most expedient solution of the problem of race relations is through *race segregation*. (7) Another group, noting the recent trend of migration of the negro population, believes that this offers the key to solving the problem of race relations; that by scattering the 12,000,000 negroes among the 93,000,000 whites the negroes would thereby be a negligible element socially and politically and thus not be able to endanger white supremacy anywhere. (8) Finally, there is a growing group in both races who put their trust in *education* and *inter-race coöperation*. Content with temporary programs based on expediency, they are aiming to soften race prejudices by equalizing educational opportunity and by developing a social organization which will enable the two races to live and work together in harmony.

In each of these camps there is by no means unity of opinion. Leaders in each camp are divided between "conservative opportunists" who prefer to move along lines of voluntary action, and the "radicals" who desire to speed up the solution by compulsion.

POLITICAL ACTION AS A SOLUTION

It is an American practice to attempt to solve any and every sort of social problem through political action. As a result, our statute books are loaded with "dead letter" laws which are not enforced simply because public opinion does not respect them, nor does it feel responsible for them. We seem to overlook the fact that in a democratic society social reform must have public opinion behind it.

It is little wonder, therefore, that a large proportion of the negro population as well as a considerable number of whites should pin their faith for a solution to the problems of race relations on this American obsession for *political action*. They are convinced that if the negro were given full and unrestricted use of the ballot, and allowed his "rightful and proportionate place" in politics and governmental positions, as was intended under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, then the injustices and vexing discriminations would be corrected. This was the cardinal doctrine of many of the old Abolitionists and was the chief aim of the "carpet-bag" régime.

But, idealistic and democratic as this proposal may seem, there is not

the remotest possibility of its being realized. Public opinion among the whites, North and South, wherever the negro is at all numerically significant, is stubbornly and unqualifiedly opposed to it. The memory of Reconstruction days and of the fate of the whites in Haiti when the negroes came to dominate is by no means dead. The whites who sense the temper of most of the negro press to-day feel quite sure that such a policy would not be to the best interests of either race. The prejudice and hate openly expressed by many negro editors would scarcely allow the orderly discharge of civic duties if negroes were allowed the privilege of holding office. While the Southern whites receive most of the abuse and blame for withholding equal political and civil opportunities from the negroes, the people of the North are no more ready to grant them these privileges than are the people of the South.

"We admit frankly," says an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, "that if political equality had meant the election of Negro mayors, judges, and a majority of Negroes in the city council the Whites would not have tolerated it. We do not believe that the Whites of Chicago would be any different from the Whites of the South in this respect. We have been able to extend the essentials of citizenship to the Negroes freely because the Whites are dominant in numbers. All the essentials are in the possession of the Negro. He is not jim-crowed by law. A line is drawn by usage. The law forbids what is actually done (the separation of the Negroes in cars). It is a futile law because it encounters instinct."²

But even though the negro is allowed to vote in the Northern cities, it seldom gets him the opportunity to hold any public position beyond that of janitor in a public building or a job as an elevator man. As a general rule the negro vote is shamelessly "managed" to the advantage of white office seekers, and the negro politician is generally a mere tool for corrupt politics.³

We may then conclude that political action will not solve the problem of race relations. The negro may be conceded his constitutional rights in communities where the negro vote is a negligible quantity; but wherever the negro population is sufficiently strong to endanger in the least white dominance, there he will find the door to political action closed to him.⁴

This does not mean that the negro should take no interest in the civic affairs of his community, state and nation. He may lack the vote but, if he is intelligently and unselfishly concerned in the advancement of the best

² *The Negro in Chicago*, Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Chicago, 1922, p. 551.

³ Seligman, H. J., *The Negro Faces America*, New York, 1920, Ch. VI.

⁴ Dowd, Jerome, *The Negro in American Life*, New York, 1926, Ch. 62.

interests of his race, his voice is not unheeded. Some time ago the state of Mississippi passed a law providing for county agricultural high schools for whites only. When the law went into effect an intelligent negro refused to pay his taxes on the grounds that this law made no provisions for the needed educational opportunities for his children. The Supreme Court of the state upheld the negro's objections and declared the law unconstitutional. But many of the thoughtful and enterprising negroes felt that such a law was needed for the proper training of the children of both races, and began working for a bill that would provide two such schools in each county, one for the whites and one for the negroes.⁵ The petitions which they sent to the legislature were read and discussed with as much consideration as the petitions from the interested whites. The new laws thus made provisions for both races, and now in many counties are already splendidly equipped schools for both white and colored children.

Booker T. Washington saw the futility of attempting to solve the problem of race relations through political action:

"In my mind there is no doubt but that we made a mistake at the beginning of our freedom of putting the emphasis on the wrong end. Politics and the holding of office were too largely emphasized, almost to the exclusion of every other interest."⁶

Aside from many of the "radical" negro publications of wide circulation, perhaps the most influential group advocating political action as a solution to the problem of race relations is the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*. This organization has a very large membership including whites as well as negroes, but its influence is almost wholly among Northern negroes. The character of the aims of the organization is reflected in its stated program for 1921:⁷

"1. Anti-Lynching legislation by Congress.

"2. Abolition of Segregation in the Departments at Washington.

"3. Enfranchisement of the Negro or reduction of Southern representation, if necessary.

"4. Restoration of Haitian independence and reparation, as far as possible, for wrongs committed there by the American administration, through Congressional investigation of both military and civil acts of the American Occupation.

"5. Presentation to the new President of a mammoth petition of, say, 100,000 *bona fide* signers, collected by the various branches, requesting the pardon of the soldiers of the 24th Infantry imprisoned at Leavenworth on the charge of rioting at Houston, Texas.

⁵ Holtzclaw, William, *The Black Man's Burden*, New York, 1915, Ch. XVIII.

⁶ Quoted by Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

"6. The abolition of jim-crow cars in interstate traffic.

"7. Treatment of colored men in the Navy; where once many ratings as non-commissioned officers were held by Negroes, now colored men can enlist only as mess boys, in other words, as servants.

"8. Appointment of a National Inter-Racial Commission to make an earnest study of race conditions and race relations in the United States.

"9. Appointment of colored assistant secretaries in the Labor and Agricultural Departments which would give the Negro official representation in the two phases of national life where he needs most and suffers most.

"10. Continuance of the fight in the Arkansas cases."

AMALGAMATION AS A SOLUTION

Closely allied with those who advocate political action is a group who advocate the amalgamation of the two races through intermarriage. The advocates of this policy assume that all races are equal and if given the same environment, the same social and economic opportunity, their attainments would be the same.⁸ Some biologists are of the opinion that the result of such a racial mixture would be beneficial.⁹ Conservative scientists, while granting that races differ, do not interpret this difference as signifying that one race is superior to another. There seems to be no conclusive evidence to prove that the negro is inferior to the white in native ability. But the assumption that mixed blood is better than pure blood can nowhere be substantiated. The hybrid stock *may* not be inferior to the parent races when given the same opportunities for growth and survival, but it may be taken as a general principle that *too much interbreeding of divergent human races leads to "general and permanent deterioration" of the human stock.*¹⁰ *Random mating* of various breeds of dogs produces the mongrel, and this same general principle is as true for divergent human races as it is for dogs.

Some of the advocates of amalgamation point to the historical incidences where inter-racial peace was purchased by intermarriage of the leaders of contending races. But such politically arranged marriages, as are frequently noted even to-day, cannot be regarded as having any serious bearing on the problem. The royal blood of European nations has been carefully mixed; but this has not harmonized the populations of those nations.

Others believe that the trend of history is in the direction of amalgamation of all races; that the improved means of transportation and travel

⁸ Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

⁹ Dunn, L. C., "A Biological View of Race Mixture," *Publications of American Sociological Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 54.

¹⁰ Denby, Arthur, *The Biological Foundations of Society*, New York, 1924, pp. 167-169.

and the growth of commerce will eventually mix all races into one. They point out that the New World is already a mixture of almost all the racial stocks of Europe, and that amalgamation of the whites and the negroes in the United States has reached the point where between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total negro population are mulattoes.

There is no disputing the fact that there has been a considerable amount of inter-racial mixture. But this cannot be taken as proof that it is a good thing. The question is not one which can be treated purely as a biological problem. The social consequences are so far-reaching and so disadvantageous as to outweigh any biological benefits if there are any. In the first place, intermarriage seldom takes place except in lower classes of both races. "From the earliest times marriages of Negroes with White persons in this country was considered highly undesirable, and in the Colonial period such marriages came to be prohibited by law in nearly every Colony."¹¹ These prohibitions persist with even greater force today. The better classes among the whites and the negroes consider inter-racial marriages as "disgraceful" and "repugnant." Thus, a white woman who marries a negro is socially ostracized by the women of both races; and a white man who marries a colored woman is asked to resign from the social clubs of which he is a member, is shunned by his former associates, and he finds no welcome in the association with the negroes. Children born to such marriages—fortunately they are few—share the social ostracism accorded their parents. Under such circumstances, anti-social traits are most likely to develop both in parents and children.

Would the advocates of this solution carry out their doctrine when confronted with the possibility of their own children marrying into the other race? In any case it is certain that the mere mention of race intermarriage excites violent resentment among the negroes as well as among the whites, especially among the Southern whites. In spite of its seeming religious foundation, a policy favoring amalgamation would arouse more antagonism and intensify the problem of race relations instead of helping to solve it.

COLONIZATION AS A SOLUTION

Many early leaders of the American democratic movement viewed race diversity as a stumbling-block to the progress of a popular government. They advocated the establishing of a colony on the West Coast of Africa where the American Negroes might be sent and allowed to work out their salvation. Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster were among

¹¹ Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

those who most ardently supported this program. "In 1777 Thomas Jefferson proposed a colonization scheme to the General Assembly of Virginia, but no action on his proposal was taken. In 1793 he advocated a plan of colonization to be carried on by the several states and by the National government, and he continued to urge this ideal until his death in 1826."¹²

While the prospect for the success of such a plan has never been encouraging, the idea has never been completely abandoned. Numerous organized attempts have been promoted by both negroes and whites—some of them achieving at least a beginning, but the number of negroes sent to the colony was negligible compared to the annual increase in the negro population.

Lincoln, during the Civil War, advocated the colonization of the negroes who came into the custody of Federal government. Congress appropriated \$600,000 for this purpose, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to establish colonies on the islands off the coast of Haiti.¹³

The ability of the United States to land over two million troops in France during the World War gave renewed hope to many advocates of this plan. Up to this time it was believed impossible, even over a long period of time, to accomplish the movement of so large a population.

Perhaps the most significant present-day movement for colonization is headed by a Jamaica negro, Marcus Garvey, promoter and organizer of *The Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Community League*. He is often referred to as the "Negro Moses." In 1921 this organization fitted out its own ships and sent to Liberia, Africa, a staff of engineers, carpenters, health workers, community planners, and other specialists to plan and lay out "ideal communities" to which colonists will later be sent.

Perhaps the plan promoted by Marcus Garvey will aid the problem of race relations by making it possible for the dissatisfied and embittered negroes of the United States to find a "haven of refuge." If rightly managed it may prove a real success for those who enter into it. But it is not likely that the plan will noticeably reduce the negro population of this country. The assumption that all negroes are oppressed and unhappy, and thus looking for a "Moses," is of course unfounded. The fact that millions of negroes, especially in the South, are making rapid economic, educational, and social progress militates against colonization as a practical solution to the problem of race relations.

¹² Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 460-461.

A "NEGRO RESERVATION" OR "NEGRO FREE STATE" AS A SOLUTION

Some students, especially geographers, regard the establishing of a Negro Reservation or a separate Negro State as both a practical and a feasible solution to the problem of race relations. They point out that the United States found this a practical and satisfactory means of disposing of "the Indian problem." Why not use it to dispose of the even more troublesome negro problem?

They point out further that the negroes themselves are showing a mass preference for this plan, in that certain sections of the South are every year becoming more settled by the negroes; that the whites are moving away from these negro settlements, leaving them to become definitely negro sections. Some students believe that, if left wholly to the voluntary movement of the negro population, within another quarter of a century certain sections of the South will be wholly taken over by the negroes. When this point is reached, they contend, there will be nothing to prevent the negroes managing their own governmental affairs within their sections. This would lead to setting off those sections as separate states. The negro would then be removed from social competition with the whites, and the problem of race relations solved.

There are a number of forces which militate against this happy solution to the problem. While it is true that certain sections of the "Black Belt" are becoming more definitely negro settlements, it is not due so much to the sectional increase of the negro population, either by natural increase or by migration, but due to the migration of the whites to the urban centers. The land is still, and much will continue to be, in the hands of the whites. Furthermore, the rapid changes in methods of agriculture are substituting machinery for farm labor, thus reducing the economic opportunity of the present negro population. Thus it is that many negroes, as well as whites, are leaving agriculture and seeking their economic opportunities in industry and business. This is no doubt the major cause for vast and rapid shifts of the negro population since the World War. The tendency, therefore, is more definitely away from, rather than towards the concentration of the negro population into sections which would make possible a separate state.¹⁴ Finally, the vast tracts of free land which made possible the creation of the Indian Reservations are no longer to be had. But even if lands were available, it would not be possible to force or persuade the entire negro population to live there without taking away

¹⁴ Dowd, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-485.

from them the large measure of liberty they now enjoy. No policy or program which must depend upon force for its success can succeed.

THE POSSIBILITY OF A CASTE SYSTEM AS A SOLUTION

There are many honest white people who sincerely believe that the negro is, by his very nature, inferior to the white man. The white race has always found it hard to divide equally with any other race. Its history seems to indicate that it must either rule or ruin other races. We have come, of late, to refer to this particular characteristic as "Nordic Superiority," which often includes much that is neither Nordic nor superior!

The supporters of this doctrine point out that nowhere are the dark-skinned races making any progress without being under the direction of the whites. Consequently the white race has adopted the convenient philosophy, "The people who can make the best use of a piece of this planet have a right to it."¹⁵ While this point of view makes exploitation easy and has often justified it, it must be admitted that this is not always the case in the relation between the whites and the negroes in the United States. Generally, the whites, especially in the South, have taken a benevolent attitude towards the negroes. Governor Bilbo of Mississippi and Editor of *The Free Lance*, admittedly belongs to this group who feel that the white man is superior to the negro and thereby his guardian. "We believe," says Governor Bilbo, "that the Negro ought to be treated fairly, but keep his place. . . . So long as the Negro stays in his place and occupies the sphere intended for him through Providence, environment, and capabilities, all will be well. . . . But, in the name of the White man's civilization, and for the sake of our institutions and for the supremacy of our race, when the Negro demands more it will be moving day for him."¹⁶

The trouble with this policy of race relations is that a caste system can last only so long as educational and economic forces contribute to keep one group dominant over another. But the negro is rapidly improving his educational status to the point where all the avenues of science and learning are open to him. He is likewise rising in the economic scale to the point where he not only commands considerable wealth, but in proportion as he proves himself useful he is given influence and respect, not only by the members of his own race, but by the whites as well. In the face of this progress caste is doomed; the negro may develop his

¹⁵Quoted by Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 495, from Thomas Carlyle's essay, "The Nigger Question."

¹⁶Quoted from *The Free Lance*, by *Information Service*, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York, March 15, 1924.

racial possibilities alongside his white neighbor without being either an intruder or an inferior. Under the circumstances, caste would have to depend upon force in order to persist, and force breeds fraud, thus making the problems of race relations even more troublesome than they are now.¹⁷

SEGREGATION AS A SOLUTION

Segregation has come to be used to designate the policies and programs which are the expressions of the natural disposition of races to live apart from each other and for each to develop its own social life with its own social institutions. The use of the term *segregation* in this connection is unfortunate; it seems to imply too much forced isolation and subordination and thus arouses a feeling of resentment. *Separation* would have been a more happy and a more accurate term, and would have given the radical negro editors less to complain about.

All over the world there is a tendency for divergent races to want to live to themselves and not blend their living with other races. The League of Nations has recognized this principle in attempting to work out a program for promoting world peace.¹⁸ The negroes and the whites in the United States are not exceptions to this rule. Since Colonial days they have lived apart in spite of their close economic contacts. Both races have a sensitive "consciousness of kind" which impels them towards separation "in all things that are purely social." In the rural South, as we have already noted, the tendency is towards the formation of all-negro communities, and even where the negro farms are scattered among those of the whites each race prefers separate group life. The same is true of the urban communities; wherever the negro population becomes sufficiently large to enable them to have their own social institutions such institutions spring up. Separate churches, pool-halls, restaurants, lodges, and barber-shops spring up often before there has developed a distinctly separate negro residential district. As a rule, negroes want separate churches first, and very often they are aided financially by the whites to obtain church property and even to pay the preacher.

While segregation seems to be desired by both negroes and whites, it is not always obtained in a manner satisfactory to each race. This is especially true in matters of housing and ownership of property, educational facilities, transportation facilities, playgrounds, and recreation places. In the South where the negro population is densest the policy of

¹⁷ Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relations*, New York, 1927, Ch. XII and pp. 508-509.

¹⁸ Dowd, *op. cit.*

separation has become fairly settled and agreed upon by leaders of both races—though in matters of equal educational facilities and equal travel accommodations the negro has ground for complaint. In the North, however, where the policy of separation has never been understood by the whites and where, until recently, the negroes were too few to provoke problems of race relations, these questions are giving rise to serious protests, race riots, intimidations, and vexing discriminations.

In almost every Northern city the question of negro housing and ownership of property has become a serious strain on the harmonious relationship between the races. Here we find negro segregation a fact. As a rule, they can obtain housing only in the least desirable residential sections, where they gain possession by paying a higher rental than was paid by the South Europeans and Russian Jews who are thus induced to live elsewhere under more favorable conditions. When the negro with means attempts to secure residence in a better neighborhood among white neighbors he is at once met with opposition—legal and social. Real estate men in many cities have inserted clauses in their land contracts to prevent sale or rental to negroes. This means of segregating the negro was challenged in the courts, and carried to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court in a decision rendered May 24, 1926, declared such contracts valid and constitutional. Thus segregation in the Northern industrial cities works a serious hardship on the negro. Hemmed in, as the "negro quarter" generally is, and, as individuals, unable to obtain residence in better neighborhoods, they are compelled to live under conditions which are a menace to their health, morals, and social welfare.¹⁹

Separate schools for negroes and negro teachers to teach them is demanded whenever the negro population is large enough to make a showing in the community. The demand usually comes from the whites; but the negroes generally would much prefer this arrangement if they could be sure that their schools would be on a par with the schools for whites. Some of the Northern negroes, especially mulattoes, have opposed separate schools on the ground that educating the children in the same schools would help the races to better understand each other and thus lessen race prejudice. But the Northern whites are no different from the whites of the South on the question of segregation. The action recently taken by 800 high school students of the Emerson High School, Gary, Indiana, illustrates this fact. Gary is one of America's newest cities—a city built around the steel industry on the shores of Lake Michigan. It

¹⁹ *The Negro in Chicago*, Chicago Committee on Race Relations, Chicago, 1922, Ch. V.

is new not only in location and structure, but new also in regard to its population—the vast majority of the white children in the high school being native-born of foreign-born parents. When high school opened in September (1927) there were twenty-four negro students enrolled. The negroes were also new to the city. The white students objected to the negroes entering their classes and demanded that a separate school be provided for them. When their demands were rejected by the school board they walked out of their classes and refused to return to school until their demands were granted. This incident reflects the growing race antipathy in many of the Northern cities where the negro population has increased rapidly due to recent migrations.

Separate travel accommodations for the negroes and whites in street cars and passenger trains—popularly known as the “Jim Crow” policy—has also met much opposition from many Northern negroes, and especially Northern mulattoes, and has been criticized by many Northern whites who are not familiar with the “institution.” The separate travel accommodations is as rigidly enforced against the whites as it is against the negroes, and was instituted for the primary purpose of preventing race friction. It was not designed, as some folks think, to embarrass and antagonize the negro. In the Southern states separation is required by law. In the street car service, as a general rule, there is no discrimination in regard to the nature of the service—negroes and whites ride in the same cars, separated only by a portable sign which fits on the back of the seats. In passenger trains, however, the railroads often take advantage of the situation and furnish inferior accommodations for negroes, and since few negroes would travel in Pullman cars, they are not allowed Pullman or dining-car accommodations unless especially contracted for by a group. This often works a hardship on the negro traveler, and especially on the educated and cultivated negro. However, even in the absence of legal separation, there is a general preference for separate travel accommodations. This is well illustrated in Chicago, where a law prohibits transportation companies from applying the “Jim Crow” principles, nevertheless a line is drawn by usage, especially in the cars and trains which pass through negro settlements.

In the South, where the races understand each other better, there is a clearer understanding as to where the races should separate in playgrounds, parks, recreational centers, and theaters. In the Northern cities, however, the lack of this understanding is the cause of much race friction and serious trouble.²⁰ At least one of the most serious race riots in which

²⁰ *The Negro in Chicago*, Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Chicago, 1922.

thirty-eight persons were killed resulted from inadequate separation of the races on bathing beaches and recreational parks of Chicago. An imaginary line had been drawn by usage but it was challenged by some of the more "aggressive" negroes, and it was this challenge which caused the trouble.²¹ In general, the negroes prefer separate amusement and recreational accommodations and have generally organized and provided their own play, where separate public accommodations for them were lacking. Even in athletics they have seldom sought to compete with the whites, especially where their numbers were large enough to permit their keeping to themselves.

"In the Southern states, where two races are thrown together in great masses, there would be perpetual clashes and outbreaks of violence in schools, churches, hotels and in places of amusement if there were not some local regulation of racial contact. Legalized separation of the races in the South pertains to schools, hotels, restaurants, theaters, street cars and railway cars."²²

This policy in the South has been in practice almost from the beginning and the races have adjusted themselves to it, and have provided accommodations accordingly. In the North, the policy is gradually finding public approval, but accommodations are in many instances lacking. In many Northern cities it is difficult for negro travelers to find a place to sleep. The better hotels "have all rooms taken" when the negro attempts to register for a room; restaurants and dining halls are "out of food" when he seats himself at a table, or he is handed a menu with prices especially designed to discourage his patronage.

In general segregation has not only been the means of preventing race friction, but it has given the negro his major opportunities to advance. It has saved him from the deadening and dwarfing conditions of a caste system. Many negro leaders and educators recognize this fact. "This division of the races is an advantage to us as a people, in so far as it permits us to become the teachers of our own people. No better discipline can be given to a people than that which they gain by being their own teachers. They can have no greater opportunity than that of developing within themselves the ideals and the leadership which are to make them not merely in law, but in fact, the masters of their own fortunes."²³

E. B. Reuter has observed:

²¹ *The Negro in Chicago*, pp. 596-602.

²² Dowd, *op. cit.*,

²³ Washington, Booker T., *The American Negro of Today*, Tuskegee, pp. 67 ff.

" . . . To the extent that the races become separated and the Negroes gained in independence and developed a sense of racial pride and self-reliance, there was a place for an educated class within the race; there was a need for teachers and preachers, for physicians and lawyers, for business men and entertainers. . . . With the rise of a middle-class, the race was able to support a professional and leisure class; previously the educated Negro was an idler and a parasite. Isolation of the race forced the Negroes to depend upon their own educated men and so to make a place for such men.

"The separation of the races freed the Negro professional and business men from the competition of the better trained and more efficient White men and consequently gave them an opportunity to rise out of all proportion to their native ability and training. The plane of competition became one on which they could hope to succeed. The older—the slave and reconstruction plane of adjustment—was an accommodation on horizontal lines. The White man was at the top, the Black man was at the bottom. It was a caste distinction that prevented the rise of the capable individual out of his group. In the newer arrangement the opportunity to rise was limited only by ability and the industry of the individual man. There was no superior caste above him."²⁴

However, segregation—unless supplemented by an effective means of inter-racial coöperation—may lead to grave misunderstandings, super-sensitive racial resentments, damning prejudices, and wanton injustices. Herein lies the chief difficulty with segregation as a policy and program of race relations. It cannot be trusted by itself to work as a final solution to the problem of race relations. It must increasingly be supplemented by more efficient and more positive policies and programs of inter-racial understanding and coöperation.

MIGRATION AS A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS

Some entertain the hope that migration of the negroes to the North, East, and West will eventually solve the problem of race relations. They point out that the negro is getting a better education and is gaining in self-reliance, and is thus less hesitant about leaving the South where he has been "looked after." They further believe that our restriction of foreign immigration will increase the demand for negro labor in the industrial centers, and thus lead him to seek the more "advantageous" economic opportunities. It may take some time, but eventually, they think, the negro will become adjusted to industry and to the urban life of the North.²⁵ It is thought by some that the negro will not multiply as fast in the city as in the rural districts, and this will further lessen the number in pro-

²⁴ Reuter, E. B., *The Mulatto in the United States*, Badger, Boston, 1918, p. 359.

²⁵ Locke, Alain, "Enter the New Negro," *Survey* (Harlem number), March 1, 1925, pp. 631-634.

portion to the whites. When thus scattered, the dominance of the whites will be everywhere assured and there will no longer be any struggle for "white dominance."

The trouble with this all-too-hopeful outlook is that it does not take many negroes to make a crowd, and this is more true in the cities of the North than it is in the South. It will be remembered that the ratio of negro children to white children in the Emerson High School of Gary was only twenty-four negroes to eight hundred whites—three per cent—yet there was a problem of race relations. Such a proposal, though used to encourage negro migration from the South, should not be given serious thought as a solution to the problem of race relations.

EDUCATION AND INTER-RACIAL COÖPERATION AS A SOLUTION

There is no panacea for the problem of race relations. A plan which may work well in one community cannot be expected to accomplish like results in all communities. But whatever the plan, its degree of success must depend upon two factors: (1) *The extent to which it has fostered and furthered a program of sound education*; and (2) *the extent to which it has built up and established sound policies and programs of inter-racial coöperation.*

What should be the central aim of a sound educational program? What sort of education is most needed by the negro population? Negro leaders, themselves, are not agreed on this point.²⁶ But the results already demonstrated leave little room for argument. People who are useful, no matter what happens to be their race or color, come to be liked and respected. Consequently, the central aim of a sound educational program should be to teach people to be useful.²⁷ It is this aim which gains for the negro his greatest freedom and his greatest happiness, and it is this aim which calls forth the hearty support and enthusiastic approval of the whites.

When William Holtzclaw went to Utica, Mississippi, twenty-five years ago, he was met by Colonel Chapman, a white man and successful attorney in that section of the state. The "ol' Colonel" was a veteran of the Civil War, had always lived among negroes and he knew their needs. "Well," said the Colonel to Holtzclaw, "if you have come here to teach the 'nigger' to be useful, you will find the best White people will be with you; but if you have come to educate him to dress up and quit work, my advice to you would be to pass on." Holtzclaw welcomed this bit of information and advice. He was a graduate of Tuskegee Institute and a close follower

²⁶ Dowd, *op. cit.*, Ch. LXV.

²⁷ Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relations*, New York, 1927, pp. 521-524.

of his great teacher Booker T. Washington. He had in fact come to Utica to prove himself useful and to teach others how to be useful. Utica Normal and Industrial Institute with its 1600 acres of good land, offering training in twenty different trades as well as academic subjects, to hundreds of negro boys and girls, and conducting demonstrations and institutes among the farmers of the state, stands as a monument to the man who came to educate his fellows to be useful. Perhaps Hampton Institute or Tuskegee would have served better to illustrate the success of this educational aim; but Utica represents the third generation of negro schools founded on this principle—Hampton and its great founder, Samuel C. Armstrong, handed the torch to Booker T. Washington who founded Tuskegee, and it was at Tuskegee that Holtzclaw gained the inspiration for his great work. White people the Nation over, North as well as South, have joined hands with the negroes to build and develop these schools.

Ex-President Taft is president of the board of trustees of Hampton Institute and greatly interested in the advancement of negro education. "The result has demonstrated," says Mr. Taft, speaking of the work of Hampton, "that in the principles that Armstrong taught is to be found the solution to our race problem in this country. Here is to be found the explanation of the marvelous progress which statistics show has been made by the Negro race in the half century of 'up from slavery.'" ²⁸

While a few of the negro colleges shun this educational aim as "servile" and "degrading," the vast majority of them—including the state agricultural colleges and normal schools for negroes—have as their central aim the training of their students to be useful—not only useful in occupation, but useful in the betterment of the civic and social welfare of their communities.

Since these schools are furnishing the teachers for the expanding and improving public schools for the negroes, and providing the major leadership for the race, it is a hopeful sign that the solution to the problem of race relations—at least from the negroes' side—is within reach.

But the educational problems of the negro are not quite the same as those of the whites—and this is another reason for separate schools. As we noted in the previous chapter, the negro has come "up from slavery," and is still impeded in his progress by the vestiges of the old slave culture—the habits of living, the ideals, the methods and manner of doing things, the stifled initiative, and happy-go-lucky attitude toward the future. All these he must change if he is to be really useful to-day. He must learn to be self-reliant and plan for the future. He must study improved

²⁸ Quoted by Dowd, *op. cit.*, from a bulletin published by Hampton Institute.

methods and make himself an efficient producer. He must come to understand the economic system under which he lives, and learn to free himself from the debt-forming habits to which he has become accustomed—he must school himself in thrift. He must strive for farm and home ownership, and free himself from the wasteful and inefficient life of the “cropper tenant,” and from the still more wasteful and blighting neighborhood life of the negro city renter. He must strive for good homes and put much thought and quiet pride in making them beautiful—not gaudy and pretentious, but dignified and artistic. He must talk less of politics, and do more to gain a clearer vision of the community and civic needs of his race.²⁹

By learning these things, he is not only promoting his own best interests, but he is rendering an invaluable service to his race and to his state. He is thus setting an example which wins the respect and esteem of all with whom he comes in contact—whites as well as negroes. Much is already being done to emphasize these educational aims, and here and there we may witness the results of it. But to overcome the influence of custom and tradition is a slow and often discouraging task.

There is another side to educational aims which relates as much to the whites as it does to the negroes. The educators of both races have much to accomplish before the schools become *socially efficient*—efficient in giving to young America *the point of view, the knowledge, and the training* which they must have in order to be of highest usefulness in meeting the problems of *human relations*. Our schools—most of them—have become efficient in teaching people to be *readers, listeners, and on-lookers*; but there are lacking those essential guiding principles by which this efficiency may improve human relations. It is a sort of *aimless efficiency* which is as likely to spend itself in a riot as it is in a love feast. *Aimless reading* has made a market for tons of “printed trash” that flares from every newsstand and feeds the imagination on the products of sordid minds and morbid discontent. *Aimless listening* has made us easy prey to the rumor-monger, the propagandist, the sensationalist, the mob psychologist. *Aimless on-looking* does not discern the false from the true, the sham from the meritorious, the worthless from the able. Thus it is that we are becoming more and more erratic and more craze-ridden in matters affecting human relations.³⁰

²⁹ Dowd, *op. cit.*, Ch. 71.

³⁰ *And Who is My Neighbor? An Outline for the Study of Race Relations in America*, National Conference on Christian Way of Living, New York, 1924.

Both races need, therefore, to examine carefully their educational aims and the social attitudes that are being formed by them. One-sided presentations of questions affecting human relations; substitution of flimsy opinion for facts; emphasis on difference instead of likeness; tirades on inequalities instead of vivid pictures of opportunities; getting the dollar sign in front of the service ideal—to the extent that these practices are reflections of our educational methods, to the same extent we may expect our problems of human relations to become more difficult and more menacing.

Segregation—as we have just pointed out—will enable the negro to adapt his schools and educational aims to fit the peculiar needs of his race, but *it is evident that in matters of education, as well as in other matters of community life and economic advancement, there must be sound policies and programs of inter-race relations.* Without whole-hearted coöperation it is hardly possible to correct the harmful tendencies which create race friction; or strengthen the bonds of relationship by sympathetic understanding. It is only through such coöperation that a healthy public opinion can be created and the press be made to reflect a more sane and just attitude in the treatment of questions relating to the negro and affecting questions of race relations.⁸¹ Since the negroes cannot hope to gain anything through political action, there is no method, other than coöperation, by which their civic and community needs may be fairly met, and a just and equitable distribution of public revenues be made.

Both races benefit equally from coöperation. "If the Negro can afford to be wronged, the White man cannot afford to wrong him. To the extent that the Negro is 'kept down,' the White man must stay down with him. . . . The 'natural place' for any race is the highest level to which it is capable of climbing."⁸²

Inter-racial coöperation has been slowly developing. But it has been a matter largely left to local communities to work as they saw fit. Perhaps the first organized effort to promote inter-racial coöperation was that begun by the Y. M. C. A., through the leadership of Dr. W. D. Weatherford, President of the Y. M. C. A. College at Nashville, Tennessee. This work of the Y. M. C. A. has been directed chiefly to the education of the people to an appreciation of the true nature of the problems of race relations.⁸³

⁸¹ *The Negro in Chicago*, Chicago Commission on Race Relations, Chicago, 1922, Ch. IX.

⁸² Dowd, *op. cit.*, p. 548.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 550.

Other groups have made important contributions to promoting a public opinion that would further the movement of coöperation. Some of the most important of these groups are: The Southern Sociological Congress, the University Commission on Race Relations (composed chiefly of Southern Universities), the Commission on Inter-Racial Coöperation of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the clergy in the various church bodies in the Southern states, the women's organizations, and the semi-official commissions of the various states of the South.

Through these organizations much has been accomplished to stamp out lynching and other lawless activities which were directed chiefly against negroes. They have vastly improved the treatment of the negroes before the courts, and bettered the conditions of their jails, penal institutions, improved and enlarged other institutions for negroes. They have given encouragement to negro education all along the line—in the public schools, secondary education, colleges, and in the home education of adults through public health nurses, home demonstrational agents, farm demonstrational agents, and traveling libraries.

But perhaps of even greater value in the promotion of a sound policy and program of inter-racial coöperation is the development of inter-racial relations committees. In the South, where there are now more than eight hundred towns and cities having such organizations, these committees are semi-official bodies composed of an equal number of members from each race, appointed, as a rule, by the mayors. In the North the committees are unofficial, as a rule, and affiliated with the National Urban League. In addition to these permanent bodies, there are in some cities temporary commissions, made up of members of both races. Generally these temporary commissions are appointed for the specific purpose of investigating conditions and making recommendations for the organization and development of a permanent policy and program of inter-racial coöperation. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations was of this temporary sort and concluded its work with the publication of its report and recommendations—*The Negro in Chicago*.

The program of the Urban League deals more with the problems of race adjustment under a new situation, and is therefore generally more committed to a purely social work program—though it does attempt to meet the larger problems, such as work on a housing program, newspaper policies, school relationships, industrial relations, recreation and playground policies and provisions, treatment of negro offenders, and probation.

The inter-racial religious committees, especially in the South, are more

committed to the task of racial *readjustment*, for the purpose of promoting harmony of race relations, and for furthering the economic and social welfare of the community as a whole. Perhaps the functions of these committees can be made more clear by taking as an example the program and accomplishments of one such committee that has been in operation for a number of years,—the Inter-Racial Relations Committee of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Winston-Salem is a city of approximately 50,000 population, of which about 25,000 are negroes. Knitting mills are the chief industries, and they have always depended upon negro labor. The population, both white and negro, is almost wholly native-born, and the city grew—as most cities of the South—with its typical “negro quarter” located in the lowlands along the railroads and behind the warehouses. This “negro quarter” was a dingy, muddy, smoky, unsightly “eye sore” on the otherwise beautiful and prosperous city. It was here that most of the negroes lived, except a few of the more educated and prosperous, who formed a suburban district known as Columbia Heights.

Columbia Heights is located on a beautiful hill-top site, where the state normal school for negroes is located. It is an attractive site for homes, but for years the streets leading to it were unimproved and it was too inaccessible for the mill hands. Consequently the more thrifty mill workers who wished to improve their living conditions attempted to obtain homes and property in the highlands occupied by the whites.

Attempts had been made to secure legislation compelling the negroes to remain in the “negro quarter,” where they had always lived; but such attempts did not stand the test of the courts. A serious situation was rapidly developing which might at any time ripen into a race riot. But Winston-Salem could not afford a race riot; because it could not afford to lose its much-needed negro labor.

The city, under the leadership of the Mayor, began to give the question of race relations serious consideration. They called upon the negroes to express themselves and they did. The result was the formation of an Inter-Racial Relations Committee to work out a program and a definite policy. The results were that the whites agreed to divide the city's public improvements on a “fifty-fifty” basis with the negroes. The streets of the negro residential district were improved, and these improvements did not stop at the city limits but extended out through Columbia Heights. Three large school buildings were built for the negroes. Tracts of land adjacent to the schools were purchased and converted into parks and playgrounds for the negro children. Street lighting, sewers and water mains were ex-

tended to the negro residential district—(notice that the “negro quarter” gave way to the “negro residential district”).

Rapidly the negroes began spreading out over Columbia Heights. It was agreed that the whites would not attempt to buy property on that side of the city, and that the negroes could extend their home building as far out as they desired.

In 1925 a new two-wing municipal hospital was opened—one wing for the service of the whites and one for the negroes. The city now divides its appropriations equally between the whites and the negroes. The property holdings of the negroes have increased in value to the point where there is no longer any question about the “white man paying all the taxes”—the assessed value of the negro property about equals that of the whites.

Winston-Salem perhaps may be regarded as one of the most successful ventures in inter-racial coöperation; but it is fairly representative of the movement. It illustrates what can be done to bring about peace and harmony between two divergent races that, by the nature of things, must live in the same community and yet live separated. It illustrates also the possibility of a program of race segregation that is neither humiliating nor debasing. It proves the contention of the great negro leader, Booker T. Washington, when he said (holding up one hand with outspread fingers): “In all things that are purely social we may be as separate as the fingers, yet as one hand in all things essential to material progress.”

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why is it increasingly necessary that we should adopt a national policy on race relations? Why not continue the time-honored laissez-faire policy, and let competition determine the outcome of the race problems?
2. At what stage in the growth of the negro population should a city begin to develop a definite program and policy of race relations—*i.e.*, should the city wait until a certain per cent, say 5 per cent, of the population is composed of negroes? Explain.
3. In communities where there is a considerable population of colored, would it be a practical or desirable policy to insist that both races use the same schools, cars, theaters, and beaches, without being separated? Would such a policy increase or lessen race friction? Explain.
4. What are the advantages and the disadvantages of a policy of race separation in those fields where they are likely to come into conflict?
5. How has the use of the term *segregation* affected the solution of the race problem? Suppose you were told that you should live only in a *segregated* section of the city, how would you feel about it? What term is better?
6. What is the rôle of the mulatto in America's race problem? Do you think the state laws prohibiting the intermarriage of whites and blacks are weak laws? What would be the effect of the removal of all legal barriers to the intermarriage of the two races?
7. Make a list of the arguments *for* and *against* political action as a solution to the problem of race relations, using your own thought on the matter as well as the thought you have gathered from your general readings and from public discussions.
8. How may colonization affect the problem of race relations? Can it be taken as a practical solution of the whole problem? Explain.
9. What effect has migration of the negroes to the Northern industrial centers had upon the problem of race relations? Are Northern whites any more considerate and liberal with the negro than the whites of the South? Can we expect migration to eventually distribute the negro population so that the major issues of the problem of race relations will disappear?
10. Briefly outline what you think should be the national policy of race relations and show how it would work.

CHAPTER 16

A SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION PROBLEM WITH SOME CONCLUSIONS

Having noted the population theories and attitudes, past and present, together with population trends and the factors producing them, let us turn to a summary of our findings with possible conclusions looking toward a theory of population. We have proceeded on the basis of certain *hypotheses* some of which are axiomatic and demonstrable while others are of a more theoretical nature. Having stated these, we may then turn to certain *deductions* which may be drawn therefrom, and to the *tests* which may be applied in the evaluation of population tendencies.

SOME HYPOTHESES

1. *Optimum Numbers.* The ideal population with regard to physical size is one in which there exists a balance between numbers and the means of subsistence. This condition of balance takes into consideration not only the problem of the distribution of consumption goods but efficient production as well. The population must be neither too large nor too small for efficient production. Either condition results in diminishing returns.

2. *Optimum Standard of Living.* In such a balanced population will obtain a normal efficiency standard of living which is well above the bare subsistence level for every normally endowed individual or family, but is not necessarily equal for all. The objective sought in the determination of such a standard of living, or size of individual or family share, is the maximum of physical, mental and social efficiency for individuals, and hence for society. The ideal share or distribution of wealth is not a static factor. It changes with the increase of scientific knowledge and with the growth of effective desire. A condition of balance is measured by a comparison of the actual standard of living in operation and the socially approved standard. Standards are continually changing. What might have been considered an ideal condition a century ago in this country would be considered intolerable at the present time. What is now considered a high standard of living by Chinese villagers in China is considered to be the depth of poverty by us. Hence an optimum standard of living must be submitted to the scientific tests of the best informed, rather than to

the mere opinion of the populations concerned. It is possible for the standards of certain classes within the population to be too high; but it is doubtful if the world has yet experienced a situation in which the general standard for all, rich and poor alike, is too high for general social efficiency.

3. *Optimum Quality.* This is a situation in which a balance exists with respect to the physical, mental, and social quality of the individuals composing society. Quite frankly we do not know as yet how to measure such a balance. We do not know what is the normal distribution of health, disease, death, average intelligence, and superiority. We do not know what is normal social quality or how much may be expected from the individual in social self-control. We may, however, compare superior condition and accomplishment with that which is average and inferior. We may compare the past with the present to determine whether or not improvement is in evidence. The superior individual represents the maximum of our attainment. Is there too wide a gulf between these individuals and those who are markedly inferior? Are we conquering disease? Is general health improving and longevity increasing? Are we saving a larger proportion of the infants born and the mothers bearing them? Are the depredations of the anti-social increasing or diminishing? Is social control more or less effective? Are our physical and mental defectives contributing more than their share in increments to the social population? Unfortunately the answers to these questions are not all favorable, but under a condition of optimum quality they would have to be. Optimum quality does not necessarily mean that the ultimate has been attained but that reasonable progress toward the ideal is evident.

4. *Surplus Potential Fecundity.* Nature has provided for a fecundity both among plants and animals (including the human animal) which makes possible an increase far in excess of the means of subsistence. This is in actual operation among plants and lower animals where natural selection so operates that only the fittest survive. Among human beings, however, civilization brings with it the possibility of voluntary restriction or encouragement of reproduction. Still the tendency is toward over rather than under reproduction even among men. This is merely a matter of potential fecundity; it is a mathematical problem and can be proven on the basis of available geographical area or standing-room.

5. *Ultimate Limitation.* Populations, of course, are limited to the available means of subsistence. Availability, however, is continually changing. Progress in the arts and sciences leads to improvement in methods of production and transportation. These lead to increased supplies and to increased availability. During one great famine in China millions starved

to death in certain areas in spite of the fact that there was grain in plenty in the surrounding territory. Roads were so poor and means of transportation so primitive that it required all of the grain a carter could carry to feed himself and his animals en route. During the last great famine steamships and railways brought food from America to the very door of the sufferers.

6. *Sources of Supply.* Ultimately, world supplies of consumption goods depend on the extent of the surface of the earth and its natural resources. The available means of subsistence for a given population depends upon the natural resources either immediately available or available by exchange of one commodity, or service for another. The people of New York City, for instance, produce but little of what they either eat or wear, or of the materials from which their buildings are made, or with which they are heated and lighted. But they do produce other goods and services which they exchange for these. The Pennsylvania miners produce fuel, but little food. The Chinese village, on the other hand, is a highly self-sufficing economic unit for it produces practically all that it consumes.

7. *Volume of Supply.* Availability means ability to get. Ability to get depends very largely on stage of civilization and the degree of progress of the arts and sciences. British genius and Western science and methods have greatly increased India's supplies. China at present, in a stage of primitive arts, handicraft and agriculture, is able to support her four hundred million only at the starvation level of subsistence. Given a Western technic, adding advanced industry and commerce to agriculture, she might greatly improve the general standard of living, though probably not equal ours, for the relative density of population would still be greater. The volume of the supply depends on the degree of the progress of the arts and sciences, the amount of capital, the development of economic organization, the character of the land, or the supply of natural resources at the home base, and the physical and mental ability of the population in question.

8. *Increase of Volume of Supply.* This is dependent upon the discovery or opening up of *new geographical areas* and in the *advance of the arts and sciences*. The former factor is strictly limited by the physical amount of the inhabitable area of the earth's surface. We foresee no limit to the latter. In a generation which can guide an airship over the limitless spaces of the ocean by means of an electric impulse carried on the ether, which can transmit both auditory and visual impressions in the same mysterious manner, and which can utilize liquid air in place of gasoline in combustion engines, it would be foolhardy to predict any

limitations whatsoever. There is no reason to believe that we have reached the pinnacle of scientific achievement; that we will make less scientific progress in the future than we have in the past. Profiting by Malthus' example one steers clear of predicting either "arithmetic" or "geometric" ratios. But it seems possible from past experience that scientific progress may, other things being equal, show a tendency to go forward in geometric ratio. Each invention or discovery is the offspring of many that have preceded it. Likewise it becomes the stepping-stone of many which may follow. *Still, while no scientific achievement is impossible, even synthetic vitamins, it is dangerous to gamble in futures.* Experiments and discoveries might not pan out in time to avert catastrophe. There will be plenty of time to take advantage of them in increased population when they have arrived. Let us follow rather than anticipate progress.

9. *Distribution of Supply.* How many people a given area will support under a given type of industry depends on the prevailing standard of life or share expected by each. Even at China's present level of living the state of Texas could not support *our* population. At our standard of living and with her present arts, China could support but a small fraction of *her present* population.

10. *Quality of Population and the Standard of Living.* Mental and physical vigor depend to a large extent on the standard of living. This works both ways. A standard may be too low for physical health and vigor, for adequate mental training and for social opportunity. It may, on the other hand, be so high as to defeat its own purpose. We have little reason as yet, however, to worry greatly about too high standards.

11. *Overpopulation.* While populations have the power of increasing more rapidly than the means of subsistence, and while this is a dilemma which is continually facing us, they have not always done so. There are populations such as that of China which have increased at the expense of the standard of living and are testimony to the fact that Malthus' fears were well grounded. The Western world, on the other hand, has exhibited during the past century a most remarkable increase in population and at the same time a steadily advancing standard of living. Population, however, has increased at a decreasing ratio, while that of the standard of living has shown a fairly regular trend. This has been due in part to the opening up and utilization of new lands and the exploitation of their resources. From this source of increased supplies for growing populations, the future holds little in store. It has been due in part also to advance in the arts and sciences; more efficient methods of production, completer utilization of raw materials, the discovery of unsuspected sources of supply

in old materials, and a new and more effective industrial organization. It is significant with all this progress in the technique of production that the rate of population increase is slowing and that the birth-rate in America and England has reached such a low ebb that Dublin predicts that within a very few years the excess-rate in these countries will be as low as that of France.

FACTORS DISTURBING THE BALANCE

We have defined the *optimum* as a condition of ideal balance. The main difficulty is that the various factors in the two pans of the scale are in constant flux. They are undergoing such continual change that balance is with difficulty and in practice never maintained.

Certain disturbing factors are always present. These disturbing factors, however, may affect the balance either favorably or unfavorably. They may produce desirable effects in one direction and undesirable effects in another. Medical science and hygiene, for instance, may tend to improve the quality of the population and effect certain economies through the prolongation and assurance of life. On the other hand, they may tend to bring about an unwarranted rate of increase and prevent natural selection by the preservation of the unfit for maturity and reproduction.

1. The balance between population and the means of subsistence is disturbed by the discovery and opening up of new lands and by progress in the arts and sciences. This makes available new subsistence supplies and therewith a new balance may be struck. These new supplies may be used either for the support of a larger population at the original standard or for the support of the same population at a higher standard, or a compromise may be made between the two. Every railway or highway built, every irrigation project completed, every area reclaimed or made available through means of communication, affects the supply. Likewise every invention and scientific discovery which results in increased and cheaper production works toward the same end and disturbs the existing balance. The world's balance was completely changed by the discovery and opening up of the Americas. It will be again disturbed by the industrialization of the Orient.

2. The balance is further disturbed by the progress of medical science and hygiene. This has the effect of reducing the death-rate in general. While it has nothing to do with the general birth-rate it does have a great deal to do with the survival-rate of infants born. Its net influence is greatly to increase the rate of population growth. As has been indicated above, this factor may also affect the quality of the population through the assurance of life and health to the otherwise unfit.

3. *Changing social values with regard to the size of the family*, age at marriage, standards of comfort necessary to marriage, and marital responsibilities, so influence the birth-rate as to counteract the above influences which increase the survival-rate. Both birth- and death-rates are on the decline but it is interesting to note that the distance between them, or the survival-rate, is narrowing. Changing social values represent one of the most baffling of the disturbing factors, since it is impossible as yet to predict them.

4. Changing social values have also to do with the standard of living. *Man's wanting capacity* seems to be definitely capable of education, of stimulation by advertising. He wants as large a share of this world's goods as his environment seems to warrant. Once a standard has been attained it is taken for granted as the normally expected and he will brook no reduction without a fight. He will economize in other directions and a reduction in the number of children he is willing to assume economic responsibility for seems to be the first economy to be practiced. With an increasing share per individual, other things being equal, a decreasing number of shares can be apportioned. If the standard of living had remained stationary during the past two centuries and production had continued as per schedule, this country could have supported a population many times its present size. Man's wanting capacity is the most potent disturbing element in operation at the present time. It is the one factor which Malthus did not foresee and the one which has done more than any other to forestall his dire predictions.

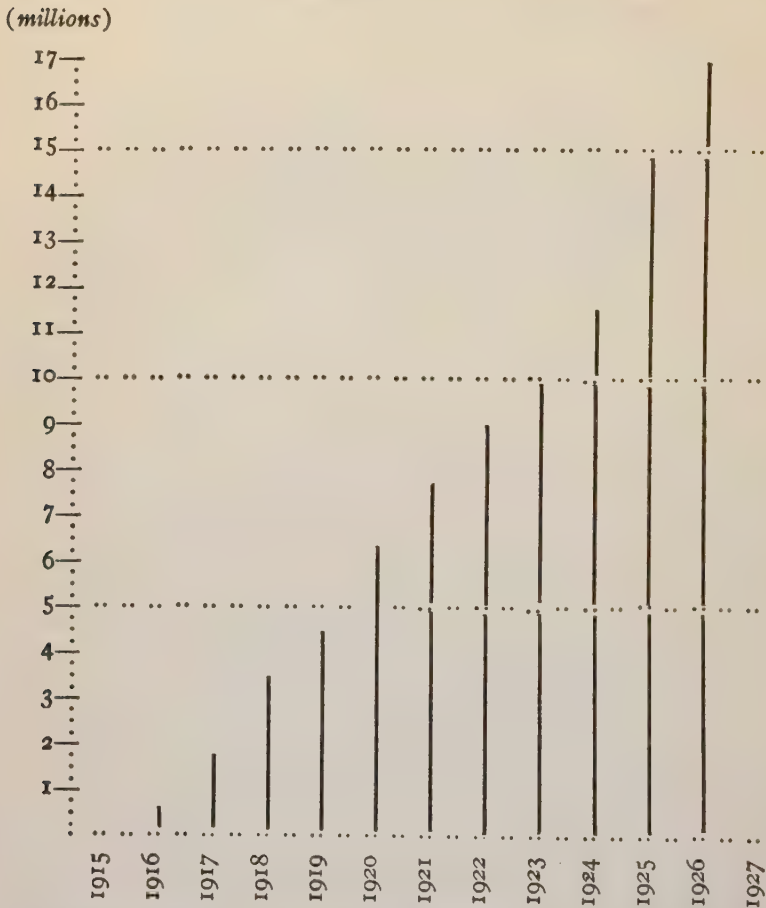
5. *Positive checks* such as flood, famine, war, pestilence and disaster are disturbing factors of decreasing importance. Progress in the arts and sciences has had the result of minimizing their effects if not averting them. The work of a Mississippi River Conservancy Commission has averted many a catastrophe during the past half century. An exceptional flow of water at last breaks through the dikes but few lives are lost because of the immediate and effective organization of relief.

6. *The balance is disturbed by charity*, the organization of which tends to provide a normal environment for sub-normals. This is desirable in so far as it rehabilitates, but undesirable where it merely perpetuates inferiority.

7. *The balance is disturbed by advancing civilization* which not only affects quantity but quality as well. It makes for increased survival and tenure. It should make for improved quality but in the main makes it possible for a lower quality to survive at an increased rate. Civilization is self-domestication. Under a condition of domestication, artificial protection

takes the place of natural resistance. Unless this becomes the rock on which society is wrecked, a new artificial selection will have to be invented to take the place of the older natural selection which civilization has made practically inoperative.

FIGURE 17
POPULATION INCREASE IN THE UNITED STATES *



* In millions beyond the 100,000,000 mark after 1915. (Estimated after 1920.)

Note that our population passes the one hundred million mark for the first time in 1916. Despite the war, the "flu," and the new immigration restrictions, the net increase has been very steady. Dublin's analysis would indicate, however, that this rate of increase is not one on which we can

depend; that the age composition of the population is such at the present time as unduly to favor births. During the coming generation it will be much retarded but Figure 17 is evidence that it will stand retarding.

DEDUCTIONS

1. That the factors which tend to increase the numbers of the population are so powerful that they have continually to be watched.

2. That, while the standard of living has been steadily increasing, it has not increased to such an extent as to do away with poverty and suffering. It will be argued that this is a matter of mal-distribution of wealth and not of the standard of living. Nevertheless poverty does represent a standard of living which the more fortunate tolerate and tacitly countenance for their less fortunate brothers.

3. Many present ills are directly traceable to population pressure. This would include a category extending from international rivalries and war to individual rivalry and poverty.

4. The human race is breeding too rapidly from the scrubs in its stock and too slowly in its upper efficiency ranks.

5. We may undoubtedly expect great things from science and a much larger potential future population, but it is dangerous to gamble in futures.

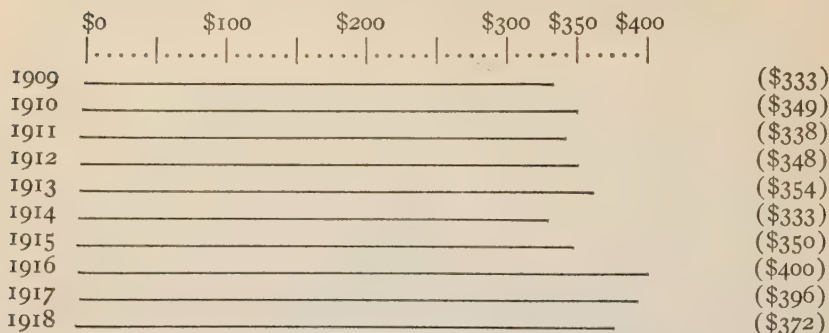
6. Density of population and population pressure are two very different things. One refers merely to the number of people per square mile while the other refers to the relationship existing between the population and consumption goods. We are comparatively uninterested in the density or the absolute numbers of the population. We are interested in population pressure; the pressure of numbers upon the means of subsistence. Japan, for instance, has a greater population density than China but much less population pressure.

7. That the world is in need, as never before, of an understanding and cool consideration of her population problems. We need an intelligent program divorced from either politics or religion; cannon fodder or heaven fodder. The crisis seems to have been reached in certain parts of the Oriental world, but in the Occident we are not in imminent danger of either race suicide or of standing room only. There is, however, a present condition of serious unbalance which must be checked. It is not enough that conditions here are better than in other parts of the world. They are not as they should be. We are not progressing toward the optimum as rapidly as we must and can do.

Figure 18 gives but an inadequate suggestion of the changes in the standard of living of the people of the United States from 1909 to 1918.

FIGURE 18

CHANGES IN STANDARD OF LIVING IN UNITED STATES



It represents the *adjusted* per capita wealth of the nation on the basis of the purchasing power of the 1913 dollar. Compare the trend of this movement with that of the steadily increasing population.

TESTS OF THE ADJUSTMENT OF POPULATION TO RESOURCES

Innumerable tests might be suggested, but we will venture the minimum.

1. *Is the standard of living advancing?* So long as it is, within certain limitations, we may allow the numbers of the population to increase.

2. *Is the gulf between the rich and the poor too wide?* If it is we must either readjust distribution or decrease population.

3. *Is the standard of living advancing at the expense of the home?* Social and individual health and happiness demands that every individual who is of normal physique and mentality should find it possible to marry at a normal age, and bring into the world at least as many children as are necessary to perpetuate the group.

4. *Is the gulf between the inherently superior and the inherently inferior too great?* It is evident that we cannot have too great a number of the former, and that superiority cannot be developed at too rapid a rate. But what about the latter? Are they perpetuating and exaggerating their defects? Are they reproducing at an abnormal rate?

5. *Has environment been made fit for man?* This does not mean the average environment. Do we tolerate an environment for any man, rich or poor, ward of the state or ward of society, which handicaps him for life?

These five questions must be answerable in the affirmative before we can afford to ease up on our consideration of the population problems of

human society. We are told that society has gotten along very well in the past and will continue to do so in the future if we will but let it alone. This all depends on our definition of the term *well enough*. The human race will undoubtedly continue to exist and probably to prosper as well. The whole question is, exist how? Is it "well enough"? Are we progressing toward a condition of ideal balance as rapidly as we can and as we know that we should? China is maintaining four hundred million people but they are half starved. America has the highest standard of living in the world but still it tolerates its slums. Genius is working wonders, but much potential superiority is allowed to lie stagnant and decay. The social minded and the anti-social are working side by side to negative each other's work. The whole population problem is a problem of social economy. Dare we allow these conditions to continue?

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Does the "optimum" concept seem to you in any way to conflict with the Malthusian theory of population?
2. What portions of the Malthusian proposition need restating? Which elements stand?
3. Restate the Malthusian theory of population in the light of what we know of population tendencies since his time.
4. What is your answer, with regard to the United States, to the five tests mentioned in this chapter?
5. Granted that both world population and world prosperity have steadily increased during the past century, what reason is there for worrying over the population problem?
6. Develop your own theory of population. If you have a more optimistic view than has been developed in the preceding Chapters, frankly face the fact and develop your own theory along your own lines.

PART III

PROBLEMS OF THE HOME AND
ECONOMIC LIFE

CHAPTER 17

THE WOMAN PROBLEM

"But," women are apt to ask, "why not consider the *man* problem?" And they are entirely justified in the implication in their question. True, there has been an age-long struggle between men and women just as there have been struggles between social class. There is, however, no inherent lack or difference in the female make-up which need make her more of a problem to society than is man. Indeed, if we were to discuss the problem from that standpoint, the *man* problem would be the one to discuss, since he is the one who has been in the saddle and is more responsible than woman for the present social organization under which we live and the manner in which it functions. Woman has lived in a "man-made world." Her position in that world is now undergoing vast change. This is partly due to her revolt and partly to certain normal changes in our economic and social organization. *The woman problem is merely the problem of adjusting her to a new set of social conditions and learning how to operate the resulting new social order.*

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

That there are certain important differences between men and women is obvious. That where difference exists social adjustment must be made, is self-evident. It is not so evident, however, that all differences are inherent. Many of them may be the result of social environment and training. They may be *developed* differences; unnatural, unnecessary, and undesirable.

The primary difference is biological and inherent. The female of the species is the breeding animal. Nature has caused the main burden of bearing and rearing children to rest on the mother. This biological fact sets her apart from man and results in necessary differences of social as well as physical function. Certain social responsibilities become hers and others belong to man. But this is not the woman problem, it is merely the biological basis out of which it has grown.

There are many other differences which may be observed. Woman seems to possess less physical vigor and bodily strength. We take it for granted that women will be of more delicate build and incapable of as

strenuous physical exertion. Still the peasant women of Europe work in the fields beside their men, the Indian squaw was a beast of burden, and our modern athletic girl is making records never dreamed of before. We further take it for granted that she will be more high strung and more subject to "nerves"; that she will be ruled more by the emotions; that she will be more "womanly," in the man-made sense of the term. But are these sex characteristics, or has woman merely lived up to what was expected of her at various times and under varying conditions? We used to feel that she did not have the mentality for the stern but pleasant tasks which men reserved for themselves; that she might do very well in the home, but that she was helpless in the larger world of activity outside. To-day we find her successfully competing in most of the professions and in many occupations. I shall not soon forget the astonishment expressed by the friends of a girl who had decided to prepare herself to teach manual training. "Why," they said, "you'll have to take forging and wood turning." She did, and she made good at them too. Now herein lies much of the woman problem.

What have we expected of women? How have we trained them? What social and economic functions have we allowed them? What has been their environment? In a word, *what have we made of them?* It is possible that they do not normally possess the physical vigor of the male, that they may be of higher nervous tension, and more emotional, but certainly to a far less degree than men have been willing to believe. There does not seem to be a scrap of evidence that they are of inferior mentality, but men insisted on treating them as though they were and have persuaded them of it into the bargain. Men developed in them an inferiority complex. That was a problem of the past. To-day they are coming into their own; they are rejecting the position accorded them by man. This constitutes the present woman problem. It is a dual problem of adjusting them to society and of adjusting social organization so as to include them and use their ability more fully. We have a woman problem because the old adjustment has been so completely discredited, and because both women and society in general demand a new settlement.

Says a recent writer:

"The earlier ideal of woman as a self-sacrificing, hard-working, child-bearing animal practically devoid of mental life, a faithful servant to the man who assumed her support and guardianship, and with no interests outside the home, shows signs of disintegration. There have come to exist for women alternatives to living in the home and being kept on the income of a man. With the enlarged liberty and the growing economic independence of women there has come to her the possibility of expression of the long-suppressed

individuality of womankind. To the extent that she becomes a free personality, capable of independent thought and with an ability to order her own life, the old dogma that she is debarred by nature from any except the pursuits and interests that center in sex and motherhood becomes untenable. Her interests and capacities are seen to be as wide and varied as are those of man; sex is but one of her normal desires and motherhood but one of her normal interests."¹

Differences between men and women are physical and social, inherent and acquired. The inherent and physical differences are the basis on which the home is built and have resulted in a difference of function therein. The social and acquired differences are largely the result of male dominance. A sphere has been demarked for her and she, in the past, has accepted it. To-day she rejects it and our problem is that of preparing her for the new duties and opportunities which she demands and of adjusting society to the new "deal."

WOMAN'S SPHERE

We have heard much of woman's sphere. Just what is it? How far may we logically go in marking out for her a field of activity which belongs to her more than to man? Long ago the Kaiser thought that woman's life should be limited to *Kinder, Küche und Kirche*. Since his change in fortunes Hermine, his wife, tells us that he has added another "K" to the list—*Kamerad*.

There is much to be said for three of the Kaiser's four K's if liberally interpreted, but certainly they are but a partial list. We may begin with children. This is the primary biological difference based on sex. She is the bearer of children and as such is burdened with the primary responsibility for both their prenatal and postnatal care. Before the birth of the child and during its infancy she is largely incapacitated for other work. As a bearer of children she has a right to protection and support. If woman has a specific sphere it certainly is connected with the rearing of children. This is a biological fact which cannot be dodged. It is argued, however, that, once the child has been weaned from the mother's breast, her special responsibility ends. Hence, for less than two years per child, is she set apart from man. This, however, is mere argument. The rearing of the child is a job which the average mother throughout the ages has shown a reluctance to give over to any man, even the child's father. It is not a sphere which has been thrust upon her, but one for which nature has prepared her, and which she has demanded. There is little doubt

¹ Reuter, E. B., *Population Problems*, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1923, p. 176.

that she will continue to do so, as long as motherhood is vouchsafed her. This does not mean that fatherhood does not carry with it other than economic obligations. The father is a partner in the rearing of the child, but his primary responsibility is that of protecting and sustaining his family. This job done he may further aid his wife.

It will be seen at once that children do not furnish a full life job for women. They do not commonly begin to bear children before they are twenty and usually are through by the time they are forty. During the middle period of their life they may assume the major responsibility for their children, but before that time they are free, and at last comes a time when these children neither need nor will tolerate the earlier care afforded them. May we say that this sphere occupies but a third or a half of woman's life? What else may she do?

The Kaiser has suggested the church and the kitchen. We will dismiss the church at once, for it has fallen to a low estate indeed, if religion is not as vital a function of manhood as of womanhood. We will do the Kaiser credit and assume that he meant the *home* when he used the word *Küche* or kitchen. It better served for purposes of alliteration. Is the home woman's special field? Not at all. There are two jobs connected with the home. There is an outside and an inside function. The home must be protected and supplied with the necessities which go to make it. This is the outside function. Once established it must be managed from within. The Chinese woman refers to her husband as her "honorable outside," while he does well to respect her "inside" authority. Is this, then, an inherent division of labor? Again, not necessarily. "The Judge's Husband," in a recent play, remained at home and kept house, not very efficiently, to be sure, while she sat on the bench and dispensed justice. There have been cases, but few, where the tables have thus been turned. There are cases without number where both husband and wife have engaged in their separate professions, *after* the problem of the children if any had been disposed of. We will merely say that the experience of society has been that the most efficient division of labor has been for woman, the bearer of the children, to retain the management of the home through life and for man to keep the *outside* function. There is no reason why men should not be brought up to dust, mop, sew, and decorate as effectively as women do. To be sure I do not want the job, but that is merely because I have been taught to look upon them as beneath my dignity as a man. If all men were housekeepers I should have taken that sphere of activity for granted. There is no reason why woman should not develop her physique as man has and work in mill and factory. She has proven

herself in shop and office and man has been compelled to recognize her as a worthy competitor in the professions. During certain periods of her life there is danger to her health in too long hours of standing, or too strenuous physical exertion. But the wash-tub can injure her health quite as effectively as the factory machine.

I doubt if we can logically go further than to say that the experience of society has been that the present division of labor between men and women has, so far, proven the most effective. Certainly we would not hold that no other could obtain, or that the present order could not or should not be modified. We will merely conclude that the *inside* function in the home still is, along with children, woman's major responsibility to society.

The Kaiser's final "K" works both ways. I suppose that *Kamerad* carries with it the *idea of fellowship and mutual responsibility*, at least it should. The home is a partnership of the highest order and it can never function successfully as a despotic monarchy; but let us not forget that either sex is capable of functioning as despot.

And what more? Woman's sphere is anything in which she can *profitably* engage *after and in addition to* her essential function as bearer and rearer of children and her accepted function as home manager. This additional activity should not be of such a nature as to make man's task harder in his function as protector and supporter of the home. She has no right to compete with him where her competition merely results in lower wages and in male unemployment. There are fields where she has shown her superiority and out of which she has practically driven him. This is as it should be. If she can do the job better, it should be hers. But whatever the addition to her sphere, whether profession, politics, business, or labor, her time should be socially productive. She has no right to expect to be supported in comparative idleness, merely because she has been the bearer of children and her job is done.

WOMAN'S PAST

Motherhood has always played a most important rôle. Were it not for motherhood there would be no home, the very foundation of our social structure. It is around mothers and children that permanent groups and societies take form. They are the lodestone to which the wandering male returns and as such are socializing agents of primary importance. In more primitive society and under much more strenuous conditions of life the death-rate, especially of infants, is high and it is only by a high birth-rate that the group is able to perpetuate itself. The *outside* function

is one of constant warfare against man and nature. Women and children require more protection and are capable of less independence than they are later under more settled conditions of life.

Due to their dependence it is not strange that they are regarded as possessions to be protected in much the same manner and for the same reason that flocks and herds are—but the most highly valued possession of all. It is not strange that this sense of ownership should have worked to man's advantage and have reduced woman practically to the position of slave. We speak of the *matriarchate* and speculate about the days when woman was boss, but it is doubtful if they ever existed. Starting as an absolute and unquestioned dependent, one phase of social evolution has been woman's gradual but inevitable emancipation. So completely has social organization been based on an unquestioned acceptance of the rightness of male dominance that to-day we find ourselves unprepared for the new régime. Woman is also unprepared, for the social, psychological, and physical effects of the old régime cannot be done away with in a generation. If we criticize her we must be prepared to assume the blame, for she is the product of the society in which she has been allowed but a limited function.

It is difficult for the youth of to-day really to appreciate woman's past. It is all very well to recall the days when she was bought for a price, when she was a chattel the same as any other bit of property, when her lord and master possessed life and death authority over her and her children, when her only duty was toward her master, while he was free to cast her off whenever she failed to please him. We catch glimpses of this sort of thing in the Old Testament, but that seems like a long, long time ago. It may even have obtained in the middle ages but that too is a far cry from our generation. Not so. Woman may have acquired the vote but the vestigial remains of the older ideas and attitudes are still with us.

The Apostle Paul was a defender of male dominance. To be sure men were urged to remain faithful to their wives and were reminded of certain duties to them, but women were to be seen and not heard. They were to obey their husbands, submit to their superior judgment, and follow their leadership. They were to be modest, unostentatious, and unobtrusive. They were not to assume the rôle and prerogatives of man even in worship; were not to pray in public. It has been said that Paul was a woman hater. He was not. He was merely a typical Oriental. If we desired to do so the New Testament could be made the basis of a very effective attack on modern feminism. And we cannot relegate all

this to the days of Paul and the Apostles. These attitudes are with us still. A woman preacher is still much of a curiosity. Many churches still refuse to countenance her. Have you ever heard of a woman bishop? Will there ever be a female Pope? Our churches still have "Ladies Aids" which do most of the work, but the boards of directors and vestries are composed of men. They make the key decisions and allow the women to carry them out. Luther was as uncompromising as Paul in the matter. Woman's place was in the home and as a bearer of children. This was her prime duty and her life. If she die bearing children, let her die, that is what God placed her here for, was Luther's sentiment.

And what about chivalry? Woman was placed on a pedestal. She was worshiped. Brave knights fought for her honor. The height of the pedestal, however, depended on her social status. Peasant women still worked beside their men in the fields, but the idea permeated all of society and woman attained a new dignity and a new importance. She was a superior being to be treated with special deference. But to what avail? She was thus elevated to place her out of danger to man. She was rendered even more ineffective. She was now worshiped into submission and helplessness. Have you seen some puny male solicitously place his hand under the elbow of his brawny mate getting on the car or helping her up the steps, when she might easily have carried him? He does it because of the age-old sense of male superiority. She accepts it because of the inferiority complex with which she is still unconsciously burdened. It all redounds to the benefit of man. So long as woman will accept unnecessary favors from his hand she continues in his power. I am reminded of the position of the Mikado of Japan under the Shogunate. He was a practical prisoner in his palace in Kyoto. He was rendered powerless but by much the same means. He was worshiped into impotence. The Mikado, God-man, the lineal descendant of the Jimmu Tenno, the first ancestor of the race, must not demean himself by the consideration of things mundane. Accordingly the Shoguns attended to all that and reaped the benefits. For the privilege of ruling Japan they treated him as a god.

Woman's position in the Orient to-day is a modern illustration of our own past. Wives are often bought for a price. Fathers dispose of daughters as they see fit. Before marriage their duty is toward their father or other male head of the family. After marriage this duty is transferred to husband; as a widow it is to eldest son, or other ranking male. They have no rights aside from that of "honorable inside"; despotic manager of the house. They may be sold or given away. In China I ran across an interesting case. A beggar tried to sell his little daughter. The mother

placed her in our famine refuge, thus preventing him. He retaliated by selling her. The villagers accused him of the act. Not that he had no right to do so; he merely suffered social disapproval. His indignant defense was that he had not sold her, he had merely "loaned her to a friend."

In *Deuteronomy* XXIV.¹ we read, "When a man taketh a wife, and marrieth her, then it shall be, *if she find no favor in his eyes*, that he shall write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house." In other words, it is the wife's business to find favor in the husband's eyes and if she does not she has no redress aside from the formal bill of divorcement which he is kind enough to give her. She may marry another man, but can never return to her first husband under any circumstance "for she is defiled," and that would be "an abomination before Jehovah"; but, no matter how many wives and concubines he has, he is *not*. In the Orient the woman who is put away also has no redress. In some places she may marry again, but her chances are slim if she has already failed to find favor with one man. In other places remarriage of even the widow is frowned upon. Through the New Testament woman's position is strengthened. One wife is urged, and divorce, except for the one cause, is disparaged. But that one wife has her duty clearly mapped out for her and it is obedience and submission.

Till recent times women have had few legal rights. They lost control of their property, they lost their very name and identity, even their citizenship became that of their husbands. Listen to the pastoral letter issued by the General Association of Churches of Massachusetts to the churches under their care only ninety years ago.

"We invite your attention to the dangers which at present seem to threaten the female character with widespread and permanent injury.

"The appropriate duties and influences of women are clearly stated in the New Testament. Those duties and that influence are unobtrusive and private, but the source of mighty power. When the mild, dependent, and softening influence of women on the sternness of man's opinions is fully exercised, society feels the effect of it in a thousand forms. The power of woman is her dependence, flowing from the consciousness of that weakness which God has given her for her protection, and which keeps her in those departments of life that form the character of individuals, and of the nation. There are social influences which females use in promoting piety and the great objects of Christian benevolence which we cannot too highly commend.

"We appreciate the unostentatious prayers and efforts of women in advancing the cause of religion at home and abroad; in Sabbath-school; in leading religious enquirers to the pastor for instruction; and in all such associated efforts as becomes the modesty of their sex; and earnestly hope that

she may abound more and more in these labors of love and piety. But when she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, our care and protection seem unnecessary; we put ourselves in self defence against her; she yields the power which God has given her for her protection, and her character becomes unnatural. If the vine, whose strength and beauty is to lean upon the trellis work, and half conceal its clusters, thinks to assume the independence and over-shadowing nature of the elm, it will not only cease to bear fruit, but will fall in shame and dishonor into the dust. We cannot, therefore, but regret the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers. We especially deplore the intimate acquaintance and conversation of females with regard to things which ought not to be mentioned; by which that modesty and delicacy which is the charm of domestic life, and which constitutes the influence of women in society, is consumed, and the way opened, as we apprehend, for degeneracy and ruin. We say these things not to discourage proper influences against sin, but to secure such reformation as we believe Scriptural and will be permanent."

The philosophy of life contained in the above was not exceptional. It was generally accepted by both men and women, and lurks in the backgrounds to-day. Such an attitude taken by men and submitted to by women could not but result in her exploitation by him, a rationalization of male faults, the double standard of morality, and a most serious weakening of female character.

The attitude of the past toward woman leads, as soon as social life is sufficiently secure and as soon as man can afford it, to the relegation of womanhood to the position of pretty ornament. She was encouraged to be "delicate," robust health was unfitting and unwomanly, she was dressed and corseted in a manner to render her unfit for physical exertion. Look at a style book of less than fifty years ago and stand amazed. Look at the sports costumes of the period which rendered her unfit for more strenuous exercise than knocking a croquet ball about a lawn or for gentle walks. Note the side-saddle and the riding costumes with skirts which swept the ground. Remember the hoop-skirts, billowing bustles, chignons, wasp waists and innumerable petticoats of the not far distant past. At the beginning of our own century sleeves were too wide to allow comfortable passage through a door, and skirts must touch and drag upon the ground. For these skirts a sort of brush-braid was invented, the purpose of which was to prevent the hem of the skirt from wearing out too rapidly, but the net result of which was to afford a safe sanctuary for the dust, filth, germs, and spittle of the streets. And why did woman thus adorn and at the same time handicap herself? I think it

was because male dominance required it. With woman's emancipation has come the demand for saner clothing and wider freedom for physical activity.

But not only were women handicapped physically, they were handicapped mentally as well. It was not proper to educate woman as men were. Polite and socially correct "female academies" were provided for them, or "finishing" schools where they might learn proper deportment and how to please, win, and keep a man. There were subjects about which *ladies* never talked and others about which they were expected to remain in perpetual ignorance. There were occupations and activities which were reserved "for men only." Woman's sphere was strictly limited to that which was "feminine" and "womanly," and man laid down the criteria which determined them.

Woman has had a most amazing past. The wonder is that she has come through it as well as she has. There has never existed in history a more consistent effort to suppress and enslave. But a new day has dawned and with it the new woman problem.

WOMAN'S LOST JOB

There is another side to the question. Not only have both men and women arrived at a new set of social values with regard to what we once considered *the weaker sex*, but social and economic evolution have so changed our manner of life and standard of living that her former function within the home is largely gone. The job of our grandmothers as housekeepers was vastly different from that of the mothers of the present generation. Our grandmothers were economic producers. They were bakers, cooks, food-preservers, spinners, weavers, sempstresses, laundresses, practical nurses, and so indefinitely we might continue the list. To-day it is the exceptional home in which bread is still baked. And why should it be when superior bread is so easily available. The canning and preserving of food is better done in great factories and large scale production makes for cheapness. Women can no longer compete with the spinning mill and few of them can turn out a gown as economically as can be done by the highly organized needle trades. This is not their fault. Invention and economic organization have conspired to take over most of the tasks of the home. Even those which must be performed within the home have been electrified through washing-machines, mangles, electric irons (curling and flat), vacuum cleaners, and dish-washers. Some contend that woman has very largely lost her job as "honorable inside." They point to the washing, mending, cleaning, and cooking she still has to do;

to the "slave she is." But her husband is no less a slave to office or factory. She still has work to do and can make that work go far, but, in comparison with the tasks which confronted her grandmother, she has leisure unbelievable. Not only are the factory and the shop relieving her of the major portion of the physical part of her household work but never before has society been so organized to shoulder many of the responsibilities for her children. For many hours per day they are in school where they are not only drilled in the three "R's" but medically inspected and treated, given milk when undernourished, organized into clubs, supervised in their playground activities till it seems to some mothers of the old school that their children have been practically taken out of their hands. Church, civic, and philanthropic organizations continue to lend a hand in supervising the activities of the child. Now I do not mean to imply that the care of the home and the proper rearing of children is not still a full-sized job for any conscientious mother. I do hold that she has found a new leisure beyond that dreamed of by her grandmother and it is of vital importance to society how that leisure shall be used. The same inventive genius which has provided her with labor-saving devices in the home has provided man with automatic machines of all sorts in office, shop, factory, and on the farm. But there is a difference. In her case they seem to have released leisure. In his case they have sped up his work and given him less. There has never been a time in the history of the race when women of the middle class have had so much time for activities outside the home. This is because the volume of home duties has been so greatly lessened.

WOMAN'S PRESENT

The question now is, what is woman doing with this newly won leisure? For the overwhelming majority of women the home and children are still their major responsibility. In all but the poorer homes this means a measure of leisure which is variously used and misused. For many, who are at a loss to know what to do with this new found spare time, it is wasted in the pleasant occupation of amusing and decorating themselves. Their time is pretty well divided between matinees, violent bridge, teas, clubs, and hair-dressers. They are not entirely to blame for this situation, for how many husbands are willing to have their wives productively employed outside the home. They may hold theories of male and female equality and responsibility but the old social values still hold over and men want to feel that their women are their possessions; safely kept within the home; attractive and harmless.

But it is a far cry from the woman of a century ago to the woman

of to-day. She now receives the same education in the same class-rooms. She is found represented in practically every sphere of activity. She votes and holds office. She attends directors' meetings and manages industries. In some churches she is allowed to preach. She dominates our educational system. She is a leader in social service and reform movements. She has become an organizer and joiner of clubs. She earns her own living and sometimes fails to marry because the man available is unable to support her as she has supported herself. She is everywhere in evidence and this world is no longer the complacently comfortable man's world it was. She is with him at every turn, in business, religion, politics, and recreation.

Women as a class, however, are not adjusted to the opportunities and responsibilities of the new order. Nor is society adjusted to the new arrangement which now includes them. They are grudgingly allowed to play new parts in an old social arrangement. Because adjustment is still imperfect, waste and exploitation result. Marriage is still a meal ticket for many women and female employment is an opportunity for low wages and exploitation in business and industry. Girls released from the former necessity for constant chaperonage are supporting themselves till released by marriage. The wages they receive are, in many cases, scarcely sufficient to support them, but where they are able to live at home what they earn is clear profit. This results in many cases in unequal competition with men and the reduction of wages all around. Women are at a disadvantage in the labor market and employers take advantage of it. They are not only exploited in this field but in others as well, for the simple reason that they are not yet adjusted to the new situation.

While, however, they have been exploited in many ways, we must not overlook the fact that they have remade education, have done more than man has to render bossism and political corruption less profitable, have cleaned up cities, have insisted on higher ideals and more wholesome social values, have, in a word, made the social environment a cleaner and safer place in which to rear their children.

WOMAN'S FUTURE

If, as we have contended, woman is in every respect man's equal we may expect her to continue with her "inside" function with ever increasing success and efficiency. As leisure is released we shall expect her to find other productive uses of her time. Economic competition between men and women which results in the lowering of wages all the way around, and but increases the difficulty of man in his "outside" function is economically wasteful and is to be deplored. For the majority of men the

occupation by which they earn their living is their life's career. For women, in general, it is an opportunity during a part of their lives to earn extra money, or to employ their spare time. The number of women who desire life careers outside the home is small. We insist that woman's leisure should be productively employed and that she has no more right to waste herself unproductively than man. We also insist that the use of her spare time be so adjusted to the social and economic needs of the community that it result in coöperation rather than unwonted competition. This still allows her a wide range of activity in industry, business, the professions, public affairs, reform, education, and cultural improvement.

The writer suggests in conclusion that there is one field in which man has failed most markedly, for the simple reason that he has not the leisure or spare time to attend to it properly. That field is politics, or public affairs. We say that "politics is dirty." Frequently the better class of citizens will have nothing to do with it. We are finding it difficult to persuade men to do jury duty or even to vote. Why is this? Not, I think, so much because social ideals are lower as because the successful business or professional man actually does not have the time. He cannot hold office and properly attend to his business. Weeks taken away from his business for duty at a trial would represent serious economic loss to him. He does not vote, not because he cannot spare that much time, but because he has turned politics over to the professional politician and realizes that voting is scarcely worth while. Public affairs requires leisure. I wonder if it is not in this field that woman will find her preëminence? Certainly she cannot make very much more of a mess of politics than man has done and she may do infinitely better.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the woman problem? Why a *woman* problem rather than a *man* problem?
2. Contrast the average home of to-day with the home of your grandmother's day in regard to the economic activities of each.
3. To what extent has woman "lost her former job?"

4. What will her "new job" be and to what extent is she anticipating it?
5. What is the traditional male attitude toward women? To what extent is this attitude passing? Is it gone?
6. Compare the characteristics of the "lady" of a century ago with those of her great-granddaughter.
7. What are the very definite New Testament teachings with regard to woman's position in this "man-made" world?
8. Are there innate and hereditary qualitative psychological differences between males and females?
9. What survivals of the old attitude toward women still remain?
10. Are women entering industry and politics because they want to or because they have to?

CHAPTER 18

THE BROKEN HOME

Since the home is probably our most fundamental social institution, any condition which endangers its effective functioning raises a serious social problem. If we were to consider the problem of the broken home in its entirety it would be necessary to consider all those factors which interfere with the normal composition and the normal function of the family. The normal composition, of course, is father, mother, children and such other members as the family may choose to include. The normal function is that of rearing and training children. Where no children are present the home is *incomplete*, but not necessarily *broken*. The home may be broken by the death or incapacitation of either the breadwinner or the home-manager. This result may also be produced by divorce or desertion. The problems of death and sickness, serious as they are, are not worthy of the same consideration here as divorce and desertion, because our medical men are there facing a problem which they understand and are making marked headway in saving life and insuring health. Divorce and desertion, however, present a problem which we understand less well, and are responsible for a tremendous amount of havoc within the institution of the home. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves in this chapter to the consideration of the broken home as caused by the legal and illegal separation of parents.

THE PROBLEM OF DIVORCE

The problem of family desertion is more easily stated than that of divorce. The deserter of the family, whether it be the husband or the wife, is one who is not playing the game, who is acting outside the law and who deserves both social and legal condemnation. Of course there are cases in which technical desertion is not actually such—in which the step represents an agreement between the parties involved. Again desertion, which is sometimes called “the poor man’s divorce,” may be resorted to because legal divorce is too expensive. Desertion in general, however, is branded with all of the stigma that the word implies.

Divorce, on the other hand, is the legally accepted method of accomplishing the same end. Whether public opinion frowns or approves and

whether churches accord or refuse their sanction makes no great difference. Society has set up a method whereby the mismated may find legally recognized release. If we grant that divorce is ever and under any circumstances justifiable then we must defend formal legal procedure for the purpose of bringing it about.

Is it a moral issue? What, then, is the problem of divorce? On what grounds do we here consider it and why is it receiving such wide attention? For answer let us turn to the church, the keeper of morals and the defender of social values. Among the Hebrews, as we have seen from the Old Testament, divorce was not only recognized but the only grounds necessary seemed to be the husband's dissatisfaction with his wife. Do not imagine that, even so, it was easy as Biblical citations would indicate. In China, for instance, about the same amount of freedom exists in theory. In fact, however, the husband thus giving his wife a bill of divorce knows that he has her family to deal with and his village knows that it will have to answer to her village. If the wife's family be socially or politically more powerful than that of the husband there is little likelihood that he will send her away, for if he does he will have to reckon the consequences of an enraged family and the possibility of starting a village feud. It is entirely possible, in that land of eternal compromise, that the elders of his village will persuade him out of the course if they fear that they cannot see the affair safely through. The New Testament also recognizes divorce but greatly restricts it. Woman's position is safeguarded, and divorce can be had but "for the one cause"—that of unfaithfulness in the marriage relation. The New Testament teachings on this point are perfectly clear. "And the Pharisees came to him, and asked him, is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? trying him. And he answered and said unto them, what did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. But Jesus said unto them, for the hardness of your heart he wrote you this commandment. But from the beginning of creation, male and female made he them. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the two shall become one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together, let no man put asunder. And in the house the disciples asked him again of the matter. And he said unto them, whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her: and if she herself shall put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery." (*Mark X, 2-12*) The "one cause" is elsewhere mentioned in the later scriptures but some students of the Bible are of the opinion that it represents an interpola-

tion and not the original thought of Jesus. There is no question that Jesus considered divorce immoral and forbade it except for the one possible cause of unfaithfulness. How have the modern churches interpreted the teachings of Jesus? What is their attitude toward divorce? The answer is that you can find anything you please from a strictness almost transcending that of the New Testament to those churches which will solemnize any marriage and ask no questions not required by the law. We have on the one hand marriages which require Papal authority for their annulment and on the other hand "marrying parsons" who specialize in *re-unions*. Indeed the Pope does not issue a divorce at all, he merely announces that the marriage never existed while the more liberal churches are only interested in whether or not a license to rewed has been legally issued.

I am afraid that, since the church has been unable to decide the matter, we are scarcely justified in considering divorce as a moral issue. The Catholic church stands opposed, but the great bulk of the Protestant church is for recognition of a legal procedure. We will only go so far as to say that divorce may be *immorally used* by individuals who find in it a means for legalized promiscuity. This, however, is an expensive process and not a course open to the man of even average means. A comparatively small portion of the volume of modern divorce is of the front page scandal type.

Is divorce a religious problem? That depends on the religious affiliation of the individual and is not a subject for sociological discussion. One of the ten commandments enjoins us not to commit adultery. Sociology would recognize in this a fundamental and necessary law of social control. But does the person who remarries commit adultery? The theologians answer both "yes" and "no," but the sociologist is not interested in the theological grounds on which their answers are made.

Is, then, divorce merely a matter of social expediency? For the sociologist it is this. He is interested in the economical and efficient functioning of social institutions. He is interested in the success of the family. Hence he is interested in divorce which may be either a safeguard in exceptional cases against rank injustice, or an opportunity for lax sex relations. He does not question that legalized divorce has proven itself a desirable safety valve. He may and does question the various legal technicalities surrounding it—making it in some commonwealths a "nickel-in-the-slot" affair, and an impossibility in others. He is more interested in the volume and conditions of divorce than in the fact of divorce. At present it is the volume which is troubling him. It is a staggering amount

which many believe to indicate the near disintegration of the home. Accordingly we shall discuss divorce from the standpoint of its effect on society and neglect its moral and religious aspects.

DIVORCE EVIL, OR EVILS WHICH CAUSE DIVORCE?

When we say that we shall discuss divorce from the standpoint of its effect upon society we must hasten to admit that we are not yet sure whether divorce is a cause or an effect—whether the legal recognition of divorce and the character of the divorce laws tends to accelerate the divorce-rate or whether there are other social conditions in operation which weaken the home ties and result in increased recourse to the divorce courts. If the former, then divorce is, in and of itself, an evil; but if it is the latter, divorce is but a symptom of underlying social maladjustments which call for remedy. So far unfortunately divorce itself has been attacked with little thought of getting below the surface and finding what was causing it. In the eyes of the church of the past it was the dragon to be slain. It was prohibited as such. It may be that society will discover that truth lies in both directions, that the ease with which divorce may be secured affects its frequency as do also the unfortunate conditions which reduce the stability of the home.

THE HOME AND MARRIAGE

Anything which endangers the stability of the family endangers society. It is a preserver of moral values and of ethical ideals. It gives dignity to and regulates the sex emotions which are at once the hope and despair of society. It is in the home that socialization is learned, that permanence is given to society and that the emotional nature is refined and controlled. The purpose of the home is clear. It exists not so much for the comfort and convenience of the contracting mates as for the training and preparation for life of the children that society takes for granted will be thereby called into being. Hence marriage and the establishment of the home have been hedged about and safeguarded by all manner of social controls. Public opinion, religious and legal sanctions, custom and tradition combine to impress upon the contracting parties the seriousness of the contemplated step and, once taken, protect them in it. The church contends that marriages are made in heaven, that they are a holy sacrament and in the past has held that they are therefore not terminable. The state holds that they are made by and for society and should be terminable where necessary. The individualistic attitude is that marriage is purely an individual contract and should be terminable at the will of

the individuals concerned. There is, of course, danger in either extreme. The one leads to rigidity and somewhat of tyranny, while the other results in family instability and sex laxity. Undoubtedly marriage is a social contract. Society is even more vitally concerned than the individuals themselves. Society should welcome any aid from religion in increasing the sanctity of marriage but should deplore the inflexible attitude which makes adjustment impossible even where eminently desirable.

WHO ARE DIVORCED AND WHY

The popular impression gained largely from the newspapers is that the large volume of divorce is of the Hollywood, Reno and Paris sort. This is far from the truth, for the mass of divorce in this country takes place in the great middle class of society and is accorded but scant publicity by the press. It is this divorce which has increased in volume at such a rate as to cause consternation.

It is interesting to note that it is in young and dynamic countries that divorce is on the increase and in older countries where social re-organization is taking place. The United States, Switzerland, and Japan are at present heading the list. Again, increased resort to divorce seems to follow the geographical direction of progress—from East to West. This is true not only for the world but within the expanse of the United States as well. Divorce seems, then, to be in some way connected with the social expansion and cultural development of peoples.

Divorce seems to follow the emancipation of women and the extension of educational opportunity. Here again it appears to accompany progress. No one would be willing to argue that since the according of equality to women has been accompanied by divorce, they should therefore be relegated to their former status. It may be that the emancipation and education of women has made them less quiescent under male dominance; less willing to suffer the petty tyrannies of the past. If this be the case, then the increase in divorce is but a by-product in the new adjustment between the two sexes.

Divorce seems to follow economic prosperity and a rising standard of living. This too is difficult to understand unless we concede that economic prosperity gives rise to many new and additional interests outside the home. The father is more and more completely absorbed in the demands of his business and finds release on the golf course rather than in the more simple pleasures of the home. The wife is released from many former household duties and enters an outside sphere of activity completely foreign to that of her husband. The children have their school

and the many organized activities which occupy their time and attention outside the home and little connected with the interests of their parents or with each other. Shall we call this the loosening of home ties, or shall we merely remark that this too is but a stage in the adaptation of home life to new social and economic conditions? If the latter, then divorce is here also but a symptom and a by-product.

There is more divorce in the city than in the country. On the basis of the above this is understandable, for the country is more conservative than the city and city life moves at a much more rapid pace. In the city there are more outside distractions to draw the various members of the family apart and to lessen the importance of the home to each.

Divorce is more common among Protestants than among Catholics. This, of course, is due primarily to the fact that the two communions exert different social pressure in this matter. It is doubtful if one could prove that Catholic unions are happier in general than Protestant unions and hence result in less divorce. Divorce is simply less available to the one than to the other.

Another seemingly damning fact is that more divorces are granted to women than to men. This was not formerly the case, for the very sufficient reason that divorce was a male prerogative. Does, however, the present situation indicate that, given a new freedom, the women are proving a less stable element in society or that more husbands fail to make good? Probably neither. There is enough of the old chivalry remaining for most men to allow their wives to initiate the action whatever the causes which bring it about.

Divorce varies with occupation. There are occupations which exert more strain on the family life than is the case with others. Certain occupations presuppose more temperament than others and attract the more high-strung and emotional types. Other occupations take the husband away from the home for longer or shorter periods and thus break into its even tenure. Divorce is low for farmers, but it is high for actors, showmen, commercial travelers, musicians, and physicians. This situation does not reflect on the character of actors and physicians. It merely reflects the effect of occupation on home life with a resulting degree of instability.

Divorce seems to reach its maximum about the fifth year of married life. If a couple can weather the storms of the first five years, the chances for the continued success of their venture are greatly increased. This is due to the fact that the family life requires an immense amount of readjustment. Each party to the contract must learn to get used to the

matrimonial harness. In an economic system within which it is difficult for a young man to undertake the responsibility of a wife and family before he is twenty-five years of age, habits become settled and readjustment to the new relation is made with increasing difficulty.

Finally, divorce is twice as frequent in homes where there are no children. Perhaps this is fortunate since we are mainly concerned over divorce as a home breaker and in its effect upon the children. If there are no children to be thus handicapped, society can better afford to allow the contracting parties to make a new start. The child is the stabilizer of the home—the central interest which binds parents together. It is the child which gives the home its real purpose. It is around the child that the divorce problem centers.

What may we conclude from the above brief résumé? That divorce has been a concomitant to social progress and economic prosperity and that it varies with the varying stability of the home. Shall we therefore defend divorce and conclude that it is necessary to continued social well-being? Or shall we conclude that it is an unfortunate by-product in a period of rapid social change and frenzied readjustment? We certainly shall not attack divorce on moral and theological grounds, but we can only view with apprehension the vast numbers of broken homes, the children left without normal home environments and the general indication of a weakening hold of the home and family life on the individual.

CAUSES OF DIVORCE AND GROUNDS FOR DIVORCE

There is a vast amount of difference between the *causes* of, and the *grounds* for divorce. By *causes* we mean the real underlying reasons. It is for these that the sociologist is seeking. It is only by discovering them that the problem can be solved. By *grounds* is meant the legally recognized technical bases demanded by the courts. In the state of New York there is but one legally recognized ground. It is adultery. Therefore candidates for divorce must either admit or pretend this cause if they wish separation under the jurisdiction of that state. In another state no divorce is granted for any cause whatsoever and accordingly those desiring divorce must become residents of another and more liberal community. The other extreme lies in the granting of divorce for such trivial cause as "incompatibility of temper." In all there are thirty-six different grounds for divorce recognized by the various states of the union, but no one state recognizes all of them.

The study of court records gives little light on the real causes of divorce. While collusion between the parties concerned is illegal it is un-

doubtedly true that very few divorces are granted where either the husband and wife, or their legal representatives, do not agree on the grounds which will secure results with the least publicity and pain to all concerned. It is interesting to note that adultery as a ground has been steadily decreasing for nearly a century, while cruelty and neglect to provide have been on the increase. This is probably due to the fact that the latter grounds (or excuses) carry with them less social stigma and not that spouses are becoming more faithful on the one hand, or husbands more cruel and less provident on the other.

The study of the grounds for divorce leads only to the conviction that we are in need of a revision and coördination of our divorce laws.

THE SOCIAL TREND OF THE 'MODERN FAMILY

A discussion of the social trend of the modern family may throw some light on the problem of divorce, provided we can show that conditions are such as to produce a weakening of home ties. We have already partly covered this phase of our problem in the material which has been presented in the chapter on "The Woman Problem." What, briefly, seem to be the outstanding present conditions within the family unit which denote change?

To begin with we may notice an evidence of *decreased parental authority and family loyalty*. In this age the old yoke of authority by parents is no longer tolerated by the younger generation. Influence undoubtedly is exercised by parents over children, but it is a much sugar-coated and be-cloaked affair in comparison with that of a century ago. Perhaps this is well. It may be due partially to the fact that to-day so many of our elders are parents of children who are so much better educated than they are. At any rate one feels in many homes that it is the parents who are "to be seen and not heard" rather than the children. It would be hard to find the old family loyalties which were the rule but a few generations ago. They do not exist because the family seems to have ceased to exist as a unit. We may note an increased independence of the individuals composing the family. Opportunities for employment make it possible for even adolescent sons and daughters to have an independent income of their own. It is possible for sixteen-year-old daughters to serve notice on their parents that if they do not like their friends and actions they will rent a room and pay board elsewhere. No longer do we find the common family purse. Where children do not contribute to their own support they are very apt to be the recipients of independent allowances which they spend as they please.

The home no longer holds the center of the stage. It cannot compete with commercialized amusement for the attention of the child, or even of the parents. The movies and the dance hall, the baseball park and the beach are much more thrilling and spectacular. Why read stories and play games at home when a million dollar spectacle is to be seen for half a dollar? The females of the home are no longer the producers of economic goods that they once were. Labor-saving devices and apartment-house life have largely done away with the chores and home tasks that once made for family coöperation.

With the rise in the standard of living the comforts of the home have vastly increased, but the old simplicity has gone. Indeed, with the multiplication of outside demands on the interest and attention of the members of the family, the home seems to be becoming more and more of a show place, a place to eat fairly regularly, a place to sleep, and a place to go between outside appointments. Someone has called it a repair shop, a storage place, and a filling station.

Training for life and citizenship seems increasingly to be taken care of outside the home. Church, school, and philanthropic organizations are doing the job for the parents and it is just possible that their methods are justifying the shift of base. The vast majority of much harassed and hurried mothers and fathers simply do not have either the time or the opportunity to play the rôle their parents did.

The size of the family has decreased, and in many respects as already pointed out, this is fortunate. The decrease has been partly due to a reasoned and adaptive fertility and partly to the shunning of the burden of parenthood.

But the most important modern trend of the family lies in the tremendous increase in the divorce which we are trying to analyze.

DIVORCE FACTS

What are some of the pertinent facts regarding the increase in the volume of divorce? First, the United States probably has the highest rate in the world. In 1906 it was three times that of France, four times that of Germany, and forty times that of England. It has been estimated that in 1885 there were 23,472 divorces in the United States, and but 20,131 in the rest of the civilized world. By 1905 the figures stood 68,000 and 40,000. Divorce the world over is on the increase, but both our volume and our rate of increase are the largest.

Second, divorce in this country is increasing at an increasing rate. We might expect the volume of divorce to increase as the population

increases, but statistics show that we are doing far better (or worse) than that. In 1890 there was but one divorce to every sixteen marriages in the United States. In 1900 the ratio was one to twelve, in 1916 it was one to nine and one half, and in 1924 one to seven.

In 1920 one out of every 140 of the population over fifteen years of age was divorced. This is about seven per thousand for the country as a whole. But observe the geographical variations in the rate. In the New England states the rate was 6.5 per 1000, in the Pacific states it was 17.0, in the South Atlantic states, 4.4, in the Mountain states 11.1 and in the North East Central states 8.4. Jerome Davis remarks that if the present rate of increase continues "there will be one divorce for every marriage by the end of the century." Now social rates of this sort do not show a tendency to persist indefinitely. After a certain point has been reached increase is apt to be at a decreasing rate. Let us devoutly hope that that point has been reached, else there is little hope for the family as a social institution.

In Nevada, largely aided by the Reno machinery which is taken large advantage of by outsiders, there is one divorce for every 1.05 marriages. Two states have one divorce for every two and a fraction marriages. At the other extreme we find one state with no divorces at all, one with one to 23 marriages and one each at 17, 15, 13, and 11.

TABLE 25

PROPORTION OF MARRIAGES TO DIVORCES IN THE UNITED STATES

<i>Number of marriages per divorce in the United States in 1924</i>	<i>Number of states in which this ratio obtained</i>
1.0 — 4.9	11
5.0 — 9.9	27
10.0 — 14.9	5
15.0 — 19.9	3
20.0 — 24.9	1
no divorces	1

THE FRUITS OF DIVORCE

The primary and immediate result of divorce is the broken home, and most of the fruits are the result of this unfortunate break. The child who is brought up with but one parent is handicapped, for he needs the influences of both father and mother. He is brought up with the consciousness that all is not well, that one parent has been wronged by the other, or both *have not played the game*, that he is differently situated

than other children. The lessons of love and sympathy between parents are absent from his life. Often each parent appeals to his sympathy as against the other. If the child be motherless due to divorce, he loses the softening influences of that companionship during the major portion of the day. If he be fatherless, he misses that part of his training. Such a child is fortunate indeed if he does not grow up with a complex of one sort or another due to the unnatural or incomplete environment in which he is raised.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that it might be better for some children to have but one parent, rather than to live in the discord caused by the continued union of the two that he has. A case came to my attention not long ago. Love was dead in the home. Each mate despised the other, perhaps with reason on both sides. They were husband and wife in name only and, except for living under the same roof, went their separate ways. Had they had no child they would have separated, but they decided, for the boy's sake, to continue the fiction. The result was more disastrous than divorce. The mother warned the boy that he was possessed of his father's defects—that the father's blood ran in his veins. She labored with him at the least sign of the father cropping out in him. The father took the same course. He pointed out the mother's very obvious shortcomings, warned the boy against being unduly influenced by her, and tried to capture his love and sympathy and mold him in his own pattern. And the boy? He has no respect for either. A broken home could not be a worse calamity to him than the damaged home he now is in.

There seems to be a startling correlation between broken homes and juvenile delinquency. It is easier for a child from such a home to go astray. It may be due to the fact that he has insufficient supervision or it may be due to the fact that his delinquency is a defence reaction to the unnatural situation. Ellwood found in 1909 that of some 7,500 children in state reform schools, nearly 30 per cent came from families in which there had been divorce or desertion, and only a few came from normal homes.

This effect upon the child, whether it result in delinquency or not, is the chief fruit of the broken home which troubles us. The effect upon the parties concerned is actually of far less importance, in spite of the fact that the step has been taken in order to iron out their own difficulties and with little thought of the rights of the children.

One further and general fruit of divorce is to be noted. While we believe that the welfare of society demands that divorce be legally pos-

sible, we deplore the two extremes represented by the divorce laws and practices of certain of our states. In some it is either an impossibility or near impossibility, and in others so easy as to permit separation on slight provocation. Where divorce is too difficult or expensive to obtain we pay the price in desertion and philandering. If divorce is impossible and home conditions are intolerable, if love be dead beyond recall, then another way around the difficulty will be found. If divorce be easy it stands as an ever ready solution to any petty squabble. It has been the experience of most domestic relations courts that comparatively few divorces are really justified. They all have small beginnings which grow and become magnified. If the parties concerned can be brought to unburden themselves completely to a sympathetic third party, reconciliation can often be effected. Unfortunately there exists a class of shyster lawyers who batten on marital incompatibilities and make the most of them. It would seem to be true that too easy divorce breeds divorce, and that too difficult divorce defeats its own ends. The divorce laws of the United States are a hopeless tangle. It is even possible for a man to be legally divorced from his wife in one state, and at the same time to be legally wedded to her in another. He may find himself in the uncomfortable position of being the lawful husband of one wife in one state, and a bigamist in the next.

What is needed at the present time is some standardization of divorce laws and procedure among the states. We need a more careful study of justifiable grounds for divorce. The matter of separation should receive as careful attention as the matter of marriage. Society has decided that marriage should not be entered into lightly. It is even more necessary that it should not be terminated lightly. It has been said that "marriage is a gamble" and that it is a "lottery." This need be the case only when it is entered upon unthinkingly, and when either or both parties to the contract are unwilling to play the game honestly, to give as well as to take, and to make a real effort toward its success. Divorce should be legally possible, but not so temptingly easy as to constitute an invitation.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Why is it that we consider divorce a social problem? What is the problem? Is it that divorce is immoral or is it anti-social?
2. What are the very definite teachings of the Old Testament with regard to divorce? of the New Testament?
3. What is the usual Oriental practice with regard to divorce?
4. Why did Paul advise the unmarried state for both men and women as the ideal condition? What was the historical reason for this advice?
5. State the attitude toward divorce: (a) of the early church; (b) of the present Catholic church; (c) of the Protestant church; (d) of the state; (e) of public opinion?
6. Why has the Protestant church changed its position?
7. Are the legal grounds for divorce an accurate index to the actual causes of divorce?
8. Why are the great majority of divorces granted to women?
9. What are the real social causes of divorce?
10. Are modern education and all other agencies which make for increased individualism, also increasing divorce?
11. Has woman's winning of a place for herself in the world—economic independence, intellectual equality, equal opportunity, and suffrage—resulted in happier or unhappier homes? more or less divorce?

J. P. Alvan

CHAPTER 19

THE SOCIAL HAZARDS OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL LIFE

In an earlier chapter we called attention to the vast social changes which are rapidly taking place in our industrial society.¹ We noted how the Industrial Revolution—still going on with increasing momentum—has made *capital* the dominant factor in production, and has widened the gap between the employer and the employee. We noted how the close personal relations, which once existed between manufacturer and worker, has given way to the *impersonal*—placing the laborer in the same category as the machine, and treating his labor as a commodity to be bought and sold in the market at a price determined by the law of “supply and demand.” We noted how the old principles of “equal opportunity” and “freedom of contract” rapidly are fading into thin air, and in their places *group action* and *public regulation* are becoming more and more prevalent. With these facts in mind, we may now turn our attention to some of the major social hazards which grow out of this revolutionized industrial life.

CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR

The most alarming and perhaps the most evident social hazard of modern industrial life is to be seen in the bitter and wasteful conflict being waged between capital and labor. On the one hand, we see the employers—the owners of industries, mines, railways, and business enterprises—combining into associations, mergers, and holding companies to effect a greater efficiency of management and to aid one another in the struggle “to keep the upper hand on the labor market.” On the other hand, we see organized labor growing in strength; extending its fields; becoming more and more class conscious; getting better educated, better disciplined, better equipped financially, and better able to “drive a hard bargain” with the employers. Some employers are willing to recognize labor unions and stand ready to meet their labor problems through *group bargaining*; others refuse to bargain with organized labor, and insist upon what they call “the American Plan” of dealing with their workers individually.

¹ Chapter II.

Industries in which organized labor is fully recognized—in which most workers must sooner or later “join the union”—and in which questions of wages, hours, and working conditions are settled by contracting, not with the individual worker, but with the business agent of the labor union, are termed *closed shop* industries. Industries which refuse to deal with representatives of the unions, which oppose group bargaining, and “contract” only with the individual worker are termed *open shop* industries. While laborers have the right to organize, the open shop employers generally oppose any organization movement among their employees and many such employers have resorted to drastic measures to prevent unions getting any foothold in their industries.² We cannot here consider in detail the tactics used by the opposing sides in the struggle over the *rights to organize* and the question of *recognition of the union*; it must be admitted, however, that these two issues form the pivotal centers of present-day industrial conflicts. These are the issues upon which the success or failure of the other issues largely depend.

Behind these apparent issues of the industrial conflict lie the discontent and uncertainties which grow out of the great industrial changes—the increasing trend towards the introduction of elaborate automatic machines which displace every year thousands of laborers; the increasing value of this capital, which every year commands a larger voice in the shaping of industrial policies; the increasing centralization of opportunity for employment and livelihood into the hands of fewer and fewer men who control the large corporation wealth; the disappearance in fact, if not in theory, of the guaranteed rights of “equality of opportunity” and “freedom to contract.” The struggle, therefore, at bottom, is a struggle to gain control over industry—a struggle for a job, for *property rights* in the job, for security of the job (comparable to the security of investments), for a larger share in the wealth produced by the job.³

The *personal* aims of the worker—union and non-union—are (1) to secure a wage which will provide for himself and his family on “a decent standard of living”—a standard which is by no means stationary, but ever advancing and expanding; (2) to secure improved working conditions which will give him protection against uncertainties of employment; (3) to secure a shorter working day to enable him to enjoy

² See *Public Opinion and the Steel Strikes*, Interchurch World Movement, Commission of Inquiry, New York, 1921; Coleman, McAlister, “A Week in West Virginia,” *Survey*, February 1, 1925, pp. 532 ff.; Hoopingarner, D. L., *Labor Relations in Industry*, Chicago, 1925, Chaps. VIII and IX.

³ Kiekhofer, William H., *An Outline of Economics*, 6th Edition, Madison, Wisconsin, 1925, Ch. IV.

a larger measure of the fruits of his labor and to liberate him from the mechanical drive and speed which is increasingly set by machine industry; (4) to secure protection from the health hazards; and (5) to provide for old age.

The position of the *public* in this industrial conflict is a shifting one, and both capitalists and organized labor claim to have "the interest and welfare of the public" on their side. The associated employers assert that "at least half" of the 26,000,000 families of the United States are stockholders in some corporation and therefore have a direct personal interest in the welfare of corporate institutions.⁴ This, of course, assumes that the 14,400,000 stockholders are distributed among American families, and it also assumes that the major part of the stock is in corporations involved in the conflict between capital and labor. Organized labor, on the other hand, measures its strength in paid-up membership. The membership in the American Federation of Labor reached the highest point in its history in 1920, when it had over four million members. This did not include many of the strongest unions such as the Railway Brotherhoods. It is estimated that in 1920, approximately one-fifth of all labor employed in industry, exclusive of agriculture, was affiliated with organized labor.⁵ Since 1920 there has been a falling-off in the paid-up membership, due at least in part to strikes and unemployment, and other post-war reconstruction influences.⁶

It is apparent, therefore, that each side may justly claim a large share of public interest. But no matter which side is favored with the bulk of public interest, the public must pay the cost of the conflict. "The cost of strikes to the American people for the nine years, 1916 to 1924 inclusive, is given as \$10,364,000,000, or about 50 per cent more than the cost of the pensions since the Revolutionary War. (The United States Government has paid to pensions of all wars, exclusive of the World War, \$6,836,000,000.) The cost of strikes to the public in 1924 alone, was \$613,000,000, while in a comparative way, the national fire loss in 1923 was \$535,000,000."⁷

⁴ *Associated Employers' Digest*, Indianapolis, April-May, 1925, p. 1.

⁵ Catlin, W. B., *The Labor Problem*, New York, 1926, p. 438.

⁶ "A survey of the membership of the National and International organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor indicates that because of strikes or unemployment there were at least 500,000 members for whom per capita tax was not paid to the American Federation of Labor. Adding this number to the 2,803,966 paid-up membership will give a grand total of 3,303,966 members (August 31, 1926)"—*Report of the Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, 1926, p. 27.

⁷ *Associated Employers' Digest*, Indianapolis, April-May, 1925, p. 3.

"Strikes are a costly form of adjusting collective agreements. Aside from the sums spent by both sides for publicity, legal counsel, and the like, the workers lose their wages, the employers their profits, and society the production."⁸ The strikes in Pennsylvania alone, during the years 1916-1919, caused a loss in wages of over \$28,000,000.⁹ But, because the industries are organized, and therefore largely control the product, they are able to pass on to the consuming public a large part of their costs of labor disputes by raising prices. This has been especially evident in the coal strikes of the last few years. Labor, on the other hand, has to bear its own losses, which are only in part sustained from the union funds and special assessments of members. The worst of the cost is not so easily reduced to dollars and cents—the sacrifice, deprivation, and suffering experienced by the families of the strikers.

"A century ago a striker cost the mill-owner the use of \$200 so long as the strike was in force. Now the striker costs him the use of \$2000. There are industries in which a tie-up sterilizes \$35,000 per striker. Naturally, the faster a man is losing money, the more he is tempted to resort to desperate measures. The capitalist to-day goes further than the capitalist of two generations ago in hiring labor-spies, and gun-men, in secretly controlling the local government or the state government in order to be able quickly to inject police or militia into the situation. It is not that he is a worse man than his predecessor. He is, in fact, generally a broader, better man, but he is in a more trying situation. On the other hand, the workingmen understand quite well that capitalists resort to drastic measures in order to head off or break a strike; so they, too, go to the limit in their measures to prevent their strike being broken. The result is that both parties are more willing to trample upon morality and violate the law in order to avoid defeat. Although the parties involved are not worse men, their conduct during their disputes is more of a menace to society."¹⁰

Many who belong to "the long-suffering public" have grown impatient with these costly labor disputes, and are asking that the government take a hand, and, in the interests of the public, to outlaw strikes. But neither capital nor labor is willing to invite governmental interference unless assured that the action will be in their favor. The offices of the United States Department of Labor and of the Industrial Commissions of the states have done much to prevent labor difficulties and to bring about

⁸ Blum, S., *Labor Economics*, New York, 1925, p. 392.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Ross, E. A., "The Case for Industrial Dualism," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXXVIII, May, 1924, p. 388.

peaceful settlement of many disputes. On the other hand, the courts and especially local governmental agencies have often been made the tools for defeating organized labor and for keeping labor organizers—whom the employers call “agitators,” “radicals,” “reds,” and “anarchists”—not only out of the industry, but out of the community. Each year strikes tie up more capital and both sides resort to more extreme measures to win—not hesitating to take the law and if possible the officers of the law, into their own hands.¹¹ Many plans for promoting industrial peace are being tried out, and many programs and policies are suggested, but here we can do no more than call attention to them.¹² Our present task is merely to indicate the nature of the social hazards involved in industrial conflict. Thus far there has been no plan which has gone far in lessening the social hazards of the conflict.

VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

Another social hazard of modern industrial life which is coming to be recognized is concerned with the ever-increasing problem of occupational adjustment. Like all the industrial hazards, the problem of finding the right sort of a job, and of adjusting the worker to it, has become increasingly apparent with each forward step of machine industry and with increased specialization in industrial and business enterprise.

Some of the great employers of labor—men who, for the most part, climbed the ladder to success, wealth, and power in the earlier days of industrial growth—seem to think that the young man of to-day has an equally good, if not better, opportunity than they themselves had. Thus the late Judge Elbert H. Gary, the great director of the United States Steel Corporation, had little patience with men who could not find a career and make a success in this “prosperous day.”

“Not because of her own ambition, but almost in spite of herself, this country has become financially and commercially the greatest of all nations. A kind of merciful Providence has bestowed upon her unlimited advantages. Never before has the chance for progress and prosperity been so good. Never in our past history have young men and young women had such fine opportunities for success in business; and as always, everywhere, in every line and department of human activity, there is an abundance of room at the top. It is up to every man and woman to succeed or fail. There is no good excuse for failure.”¹³

¹¹ Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Social Relations*, New York, 1927, Ch. XXI.

¹² *Ibid.*, Chs. XXII and XXIII; Bloom, S., *Labor Economics*, New York, 1925, Chs. XI and XII.

¹³ Quoted by *The Ronald Forum*, New York, January, 1926, p. 2, from an address to students of the School of Commerce, Accounts, and Finance, New York University.

The exponents of this all-too-hopeful doctrine overlook the fact that the "top" is every year getting narrower; that business and industry—as we have already noted—are rapidly integrating, and every year sees the business and industrial establishments growing larger in size but fewer in number. Even the field for independent executives is getting narrower, and to an increasing extent the men who a generation ago would have risen to be "captains of industry" must now be content to become the efficient, specialized, hired experts of corporations. But, after all, the vast majority of the working population could not expect to become executives, or even hired managers—and it is with this rank and file of the vast working population that we are here chiefly concerned. It is with the rank and file of American workers that the hazards of vocational adjustment have a real meaning and are an ever-present dread.

We might group these hazards of vocational adjustment into two general classes: (1) The hazards of finding the specialized occupation suited to the individual boy and girl, and of getting the proper education and training required for success in it. (2) The hazards which grow out of the improvement of processes and methods of industry and the invention of labor-saving machinery—processes and machines which displace human skill and do the work of thousands of hands. The first group of hazards involves the problem of vocational guidance and training; the second group involves the even more difficult problem of beginning anew, perhaps late in life—after having learned one trade—and develop skill in and become adjusted to another occupation.

In former days there was not much question about what the young man or young woman would do for a livelihood. It was generally taken for granted that the boy would follow in the footsteps of his father, and the girl would get married and become a home-maker. If the father was a craftsman, the boy was expected to become an apprentice, then a journeyman, and finally a skilled artisan himself. The son of a professional man or merchant generally entered the office or business of his father, and it was eventually expected that the young man would carry on the enterprise when the old man retired. When our country was still predominately agricultural, the farmer's boy—when he was ready to "make his own way"—either took his father's farm, or purchased a part of the "old homestead" from his father, and thus settled the question of choosing a vocation.

For the great majority of young men and women the problem of finding an occupation is no longer simple. Only a very small per cent—even of the farmer's children—follow the parental example. In this rapidly

changing industrial life of to-day such a plan would not be possible for the majority, even if it were desirable. Consequently, most of our boys and girls look out upon the confusing and changing multitude of narrow, specialized occupational niches of modern industry and business, and, through an awkward trial-and-error process, "seek the jobs that pay." What skill they happen to acquire—if they are fortunate enough to acquire any—they "pick up" in the course of wandering from one job to another. In this process many become "floaters"—on the job to-day, and gone to-morrow. Many dissatisfied with their lot—bitter against the "capitalistic system" which they think keeps them down—find a sort of religious zeal in "a war on capitalism."

The vast majority of our boys and girls drop out of school as soon as the law allows—either because their parents are too poor to keep them in school, or because they are overanxious to earn their own money. They are not willing to accept "half pay" with an opportunity to learn a trade or to become skilled in a specialized occupation that offers some future advantages. The twenty to fifty cents per hour paid for unskilled, common machine hands looks large to them. The employer may need skilled workers and may offer attractive apprenticeship opportunities; but the average boy and girl looks at the present—not the future.

"You offer them a position at a dollar or a dollar and a quarter a day, where they can learn a trade or get promotion, and they laugh at you. They have been spoiled. They could earn that much before they were sixteen years old! At the age of seventeen or eighteen they have been earning eighteen to twenty cents an hour—twice as much as you offer them. To the boy of sixteen, twenty cents an hour, at a two-months' job, looks bigger than fifty cents or a dollar an hour and steady work at the end of a ten-year line of future promotion. He has suddenly found himself earning more than his immigrant father.

"Why is it that these boys do not look ahead? Why do they not know that twenty cents is the highest they will ever earn? That they will scarcely hold such a job more than four or five months? That ten years from now they will be loafing in the back part of the employment office with the flotsam and jetsam that they already see behind them, vainly waiting for a twenty-cent job of two or three days, or else hopelessly accepting, for the rest of their lives, an old man's job at a dollar or so a day, long hours, and Sundays thrown in?

"Let us see where they get their notions of work and wages. At sixteen or seventeen they are put to work feeding a semi-automatic machine. In two months they have learned the job and get the speed. Their wages go up to eighteen or twenty cents an hour. But the work is monotonous—just one or two operations, hour after hour, ten hours a day, sixty hours a week. The monotony grows—becomes unendurable. The older man at the machine is

afraid to quit. He keeps on—his mind shrinks—he never thinks of his work unless something goes wrong—he thinks of other things—his childhood, his former playmates—his days and nights of fun and wild oats—anything to keep his mind off the deadly monotony.

"But the boy rebels. He must get a move. His foreman will not change him to a different machine or a different foreman. Other boys have got the speed there. The foreman must have output—he puts up with beginners and learners only because he must. The boy quarrels and quits in a huff; gets impudent and is 'fired.' He hunts another shop—gets on another machine or a similar machine under different surroundings. After a while he has learned several machines by a wandering apprenticeship through several shops."¹⁴

Thus we see that the "blind alley" jobs of unskilled labor—jobs which the average boy or girl can do as ably as men and women—stand in the way of the vocational guidance and training which would cut down the hazards of occupational adjustment. "It would be far better for the boys to get lower wages, if therewith they get industrial education. This would be the case if all boys under twenty-one were by law treated as apprentices. Not until such a policy is adopted can we predict that industrial education will do much toward reducing the amount of dependency that modern industry produces. Even then, there are many other things that are also necessary—a state-wide system of employment offices to reduce the time lost between jobs—to bring employees to the jobs they are fitted for—to equalize employment in dull seasons and busy seasons—to shorten hours of labor for monotonous and specialized work."¹⁵

Especially since the World War, a great deal of attention has been directed to this problem of vocational guidance and vocational education. The Federal Board of Vocational Education, the Boards of Vocational Education of the various states and cities, the Federal Children's Bureau, the Federal Bureau of Education, and numerous other public and private groups are putting forth every effort to understand the problem and to provide the facilities for meeting it.¹⁶ While the movement has been most pronounced since the World War, it had a much earlier beginning. The first vocational guidance bureau was opened in Boston in 1908, and the work of Dr. Frank Parsons, who started this bureau, has challenged the interests of educators the nation over, and has led to the organization of the National Vocational Guidance Association. In reviewing the 1927

¹⁴ Commons, John R., "Industrial Education and Dependency," *Extension Division, University of Wisconsin, Bulletin*, March, 1918, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁶ *Vocational Guidance and Junior Placement*. (A study of the work in twelve cities of the United States.) *Children's Bureau Bulletin*, No. 149, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1925.

meeting of this National Association, Mr. H. D. Kitson says, "Throughout the discussion no one offered a cut and dried recipe for guidance. Tests for the determination of vocational aptitudes which ten years ago were looked upon as the most potent tool of vocational guidance, were not mentioned on the program. The impression was given by all the speakers that vocational guidance can not work like a nickel-in-the-slot machine but requires a long period of scientific study and the coordination of many agencies in society, all directed toward the development of every individual to his highest possible point."¹⁷

But how about the worker who faces the dilemma of having to change his whole occupational outlook in middle life? Must he go to school always in order to be prepared to make a shift from one trade or occupation to another? If so, there is need for some far-reaching changes in our educational machinery—changes which would provide a program of *adult* education suited to the needs of the working population and recognizing the problems of vocational change.¹⁸ The reorganization of industry and the introduction of labor-saving machinery every year throws thousands of workers into the unhappy quandary of rebuilding their occupational footing and of starting anew to work up to a satisfactory wage income.

Historically, the first great adjustments of artisans to the march of machinery came in the textile industries. Thousands of weavers found their trades taken from them by the introduction of machines and most of them had to turn to other occupations for earning a living. A few years ago printing was dependent upon the type-setters, but the invention of the linotype machine shattered this aspect of the printers' trade. Glass-blowers until a few years ago produced most of our glassware; but now the Owens Bottle Machine does the work of thousands of glass workers. Machinists have seen the same sweeping changes come into the rapidly growing machine industry, and many had to be content with becoming tenders of huge automatic machines, or to become repairmen in garages—only the better educated could step up into the professional class of machine designers and mechanical engineers. Recently, telegraph operators have been displaced by the installation of automatic machines which transmit messages from one typewriter to another. The adding-machines, billing-machines, tabulating, and recording-machines have lessened the need for

¹⁷ *Survey*, April 15, 1927, p. 104.

¹⁸ *Adult Working-Class Education in Great Britain and the United States*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin, No. 271, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1920.

thousands of bookkeepers, clerks and office help. Almost every aspect of business and industry furnishes us equally striking examples of labor displacement.

It is interesting to note that business and industrial periodicals which a few years ago devoted a great deal of attention to labor management, industrial welfare, and employee education, are now stressing the *use of improved labor-saving machines as means of cutting down costs and increasing output*.

Trade unions were at first opposed to the introduction of labor-saving machines;¹⁹ but soon they realized that such opposition was futile and not in harmony with progress. Most of the trade unions to-day offer no open resistance to these changes, but attempt to regulate them in such a way as will insure the job for the union worker and keep the wage from falling. Unions have done—and are still doing—a great deal to facilitate these sweeping changes and bring about occupational adjustments for their members.²⁰ But generally the methods used by trade unions have not been favorable to the full use of machines—they have been more of the nature of restriction of output.

Doubtless the building of vocational schools, the development of scientific vocational guidance, and the organization of a more *scientific system of employment bureaus* will not only aid the new worker entering industry, but will eventually become the route by which the displaced worker may find satisfactory readjustments. There must be a closer relationship between the *school*, the *employment bureau*, and *industry* in order that industrial changes be better understood and the worker properly prepared for readjustment. The employer must give more consideration to the laborer's problem, and not proceed as though the readjustment of the worker is no concern of his. Many employers are doing more than their just share in aiding these changes—and are finding that it pays in the long run. But many more employers are either indifferent or opposed to policies aiding readjustment which, they say, are "dictated by the exponents of organized labor." In fact, many industries have found the introduction of labor-saving machinery "a means of emancipating themselves from the grip of organized labor," and for this reason refuse to consider a program of readjusting their "former employees." Doubtless a sound public policy is needed before full coöperation of all employers of labor can be had.

¹⁹ Catlin, W. B., *The Labor Problem*, New York, 1926, pp. 58-69.

²⁰ Blum, S., *Labor Economics*, New York, 1925, pp. 366.

THE HAZARD OF UNEMPLOYMENT

There is probably no fear that hangs more heavily over the head of the average worker than the fear of losing his job. There are, to be sure a considerable number who are chronically unemployed—the men who “won’t work,” hobos, tramps, casual workers, and “psychopathic personalities.” While many of these may have started their shiftless habits through failure to find proper vocational placement, the major proportion of them are victims of other social or personal ills than those connected with our changing industrial life. Our discussion of the hazards of unemployment, therefore, is not so much concerned with these industrial derelicts. Our chief task is to see the hazards which confront the great body of workers who seek and desire steady employment.

The social hazards which we have just discussed are no small factors in this hazard of unemployment. Industrial conflicts—strikes and lock-outs—every year cause thousands of workers to remain out of their jobs. “In fact, an analysis of the figures for 1881-1921 shows that since 1900 there has not only been an increasing number of strikes (1917 witnessed 4,450 disputes; but 1919 strikes affected the largest number of employees—over 4,000,000), but that during the last seven years of the period—1915-1921—the proportion of strikers as compared with the number of industrial wage-earners was from four and one-third to five times as great . . . as during the years 1881-85. The *average* duration of strikes during the first period (*i.e.*, prior to 1915) was 25.4 days, the longest duration being an *average* of 35.5 days in 1904. The average duration for later years, of all disputes for which such data were obtainable, varied from a ‘low’ of 17 days in 1918 to a ‘high’ of 51 days in 1921.”²¹

Likewise, the reorganization of industry and the introduction of labor-saving machinery are important causes of much unemployment—either for a short period during the reorganization or installation of the machines, or for a long period due to complete displacement of labor by the machines. But just how many workers are every year forced out of work through this cause we cannot say. In this displacement the traditionally skilled workers have generally suffered more than have the unskilled—though the unskilled are generally the first to be “laid-off.” The new automatic machine requires but little skill or training to be “fed,” and the unskilled workers, even women and children, may easily become machine-tenders.²²

²¹ Catlin, W. B., *The Labor Problem*, New York, 1926, pp. 407-408.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 58-69.

Some employment is casual, offering steady work perhaps for a few hours or for a few days and then offering nothing for a while. The work of the longshoremen and dock-hands in the shipping industry is of this sort. The men work hard while there are ships to load or unload, but ships are not always in the harbor, and the amount of work depends upon the number and size of the incoming and outgoing cargoes. These workers loaf about the "wharf cafés," saloons, "hang-outs," and pool halls "waiting for the next boat," and generally spend much of their meager income in gambling and drinking. Many of the smaller industries maintain a fringe of this haphazard type of employment. Most of these workers could doubtless find more steady employment, but there seems to be a fascination about this type of work which holds them, and they seem to live in constant expectation that "next week will be a busy week." The casual nature of the work makes it difficult to dovetail these occupations with other employments which would provide work for the men during hours and days now wasted. Doubtless a better organization of the labor management of the shipping industry could work out a system of transfer of the workers from one job to another—as is done in the harbors of Great Britain. But as yet the labor market in the United States is not so organized as to dovetail the casual industries. Casual employment not only makes the income uncertain and inadequate for the families depending upon it, but it has a demoralizing effect upon the worker himself.²³

Other industries are seasonal in nature and can furnish employment for only a certain part of the year—as in the clothing industry, coal mining, harvesting, and lumbering. These industries are responsible for much of the unemployment that is characteristic of normal times, and the thousands of workers in these industries constitute the major part of what is now called the *labor reserve*. In the canning industry, for example, the number of workers employed during March is but eighteen per cent of the number employed in September; in the brick and tile industry, the winter months employ but 61.4 per cent of the number employed during the summer; much the same situation is characteristic of the building trades, manufacturing of ice, and many other industries. "Seasonal unemployment is now regarded as the most grievous form of unemployment hazards."²⁴ The clothing industry has recognized the evils of this condition and has organized in a way to dovetail the various divisions of

²³ Lascelles and Bullock, *Dock Labour and Decasualization*, London, 1924, Chs. V and X.

²⁴ Catlin, W. B., *The Labor Problem*, New York, 1926, pp. 69-73.

work and have thus done much to lessen the seasonal unemployment of clothing workers. But in general the labor market is unorganized and finding supplementary employment is largely left to the individual worker. Employment Bureaus aid the individual workers to a considerable extent, but as yet there is no adequate system of labor exchanges to alleviate this hazard—much less to prevent it.

Some employers have used unemployment as a tool for keeping down wages and for controlling the activities of their employees. They realize that the fear of losing the job is a powerful weapon in their hands—and they use it. But these practices cannot be said to be ethical, nor do they create public good-will. In the end such practices are costly to the industry that resorts to them. They not only create a dissatisfied working force, but public opinion unqualifiedly resents them.²⁵

Enlightened employers take a different view of unemployment. They recognize the economic and good-will value of a steady working force. Many such employers are finding that it pays to study the problem and to bend every effort to solve it, so far as their own industry is concerned. The Dennison Manufacturing Company is a good example of this class of employers:

"The Dennison Manufacturing Company produces paper boxes, tags, crepe paper, and allied goods. Paper novelties for Hallowe'en, and Christmas, are subject to a highly seasonal demand. Yet the Dennison Company has been an outstanding pioneer in regularizing employment. In 1919 they had set aside \$100,000 as a starter for 'unemployment insurance.' But they were not content with helping the worker to live through his workless periods; they started fundamental preventive measures. The sources of seasonal demand were studied. Types of work which could be done in dull seasons were transferred out of the rush periods. Successful efforts were made to build up demands for products which are used at other times than the old peak load of the industry. Workers were trained so that they could be shifted to alternative jobs when their normal work slackened. Methods of persuading customers to put in advance orders were developed. From a highly fluctuating demand for workers, the company has changed to a condition where it is able to hold its working force with astonishing steadiness. The results in increased good will and lowered turnover,—in higher valuation of the job and in loyalty,—have made the effort a highly profitable one."²⁶

Unemployment insurance is coming to be regarded as the most effective measure for lifting the burden of faulty industrial organization off

²⁵ Hoopingartner, D. L., *Labor Relations in Industry*, New York, 1925, pp. 281-282.

²⁶ Hart, Hornell, *The Science of Human Relations*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1927, p. 593.

the shoulders of the wage-earner, where the burden falls heaviest. Some of the labor unions maintain an unemployment "benefit" fund; some employers, like the Dennison Manufacturing Company, have initiated plans for such funds, and a number of states have attempted legislation along these lines.²⁷ But thus far such attempts have failed to become law. It is believed that a scientific plan of unemployment insurance would not only alleviate the misery caused by enforced idleness, but would do much to bring about the systematic coordination of industry, and thus greatly reduce the unemployment hazard. Several European countries have extended their social insurance provision to cover unemployment.²⁸

Thus we see that even in normal times unemployment is one of our major social hazards. But the most serious aspects of the unemployment hazards are not those of normal times, but the longer and more trying periods of *industrial depression*. Industrial depression is the most sensitive side of the *business cycle*, and the side which reflects the seriousness of it. We cannot here enter upon a discussion of the nature and causes of the business cycle—though such a discussion would be a valuable aid to our understanding of this most serious cause of unemployment. Industrial depressions are rather regularly recurring periods—following periods of unusual prosperity—when industries close down, prices tumble, and credit is difficult to obtain. We pass through periods of this sort on the average of about every ten years,—the most severe and distressing were those of 1818, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, 1907, 1914-1915, and 1920-21. The periods prior to 1914 are generally referred to as "panics" and from the laboring man's point of view this term might well be applied to the depressions of 1914-15 and 1920-21.

In normal times the unemployed worker is seldom reduced to abject poverty and distressing misery—he may "run in debt," and temporarily have his standard of living reduced, or be compelled to depend upon the meager earnings of his wife and children; but he is generally certain that he will soon find another job and be able to pay his debts and regain his former standard of living. But the period of industrial depression generally catches the worker unprepared, and his chances for credit or for the employment of his wife and children are closed. Even his meager savings may be wiped out by failure of the bank where he has kept his deposit, or the bankruptcy of the business in which he has invested. His considerate

²⁷ Senate Bill, No. 103, Wisconsin Legislature, 1925, introduced February 3, 1925 by Senator Heck, was designed to create a plan for unemployment insurance in Wisconsin.

²⁸ Blum, S., *Labor Economics*, New York, 1925, pp. 165-176.

employer may for a time offer him some relief by providing him work at a reduced wage, or part-time employment, but even this is generally only for a short time.

The marvelous resourcefulness of the average worker begins to become apparent when he has finally exhausted every possible effort at finding work—and followed down every rumor of possible employment.²⁹ The following case record is typical of thousands during the industrial depression of 1921-1922:

"One family consists of American-born parents—about 30 years of age—and three children, 4, 9, and 11 years old. The father, a welder for an implement works, lost his job a year ago. Since then he has worked three weeks for the city and has had irregular employment at his former place, earning a total of \$505 during the year. An aunt came to live with the family during the summer. For four weeks she paid \$2.50 a week and the fifth week \$4. Then she lost her job and has paid nothing since.

"The family has not yet been obliged to ask for charitable aid, but the struggle to keep from it has been hard. When the father was laid off they were living in a nine-room house, for which they paid \$35 a month. Realizing they could not keep up this rent they moved into a six-room flat at \$20. After four months they felt they must retrench even more, so they moved across the street into their present flat of four rooms, at \$15 a month. It is heated by a stove and has few of the conveniences they had in the other houses. There are no sidewalks, and the street is unpaved.

"The father had to drop his own \$2,000 insurance policy and also smaller policies for his wife and children. The mother has cut the food down to the minimum. She tries to give the children milk once a day now instead of every meal, as she did when the father was working. They have run up a \$200 grocery bill, owe \$29 for clothing, \$6.50 for gas and electricity, and have borrowed about \$400 from friends. In addition, they owe \$9.50 for coal to the factory where the father was formerly employed and \$160 for groceries obtained through the commissary."³⁰

It is during these periods of industrial depression that the resources of charitable agencies are strained to the limit; soup-kitchens are organized; bread-lines are formed; and public officials begin to talk about the possibility of public works as means of relieving the situation.

The severity of the industrial depression which began in 1920 and lasted until early in 1922 is reflected in Figure 19, which in general reflects conditions of most industrial communities of the Middle West. The extent to which the mothers attempt to save the rapidly depleting standard

²⁹ Klein, Philip, *The Burden of Unemployment (A Study of unemployment relief measures in fifteen American Cities, 1921-22)*, New York, 1923, Ch. I.

³⁰ Lundberg, Emma O., "Unemployment and Child Welfare," *Children's Bureau Publications*, No. 125, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1923, pp. 39-40.

FIGURE 19

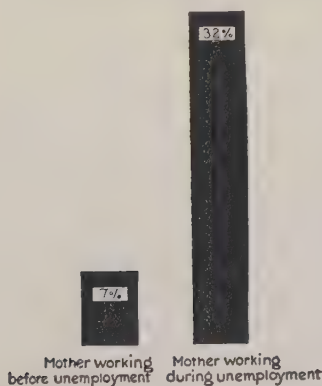
DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT: 356 FAMILIES, IN TWO CITIES, REPORTING
DURATION OF FATHER'S UNEMPLOYMENT (1921-1922)*



* From "Unemployment and Child Welfare," *Children's Bureau Publications*, No. 125, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1923, p. 21.

FIGURE 20 *

EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS
BEFORE AND DURING UNEMPLOYMENT OF FATHERS
366 FAMILIES OF UNEMPLOYED MEN



* From "Unemployment and Child Welfare," *Children's Bureau Publications*, No. 125, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1923, p. 47.

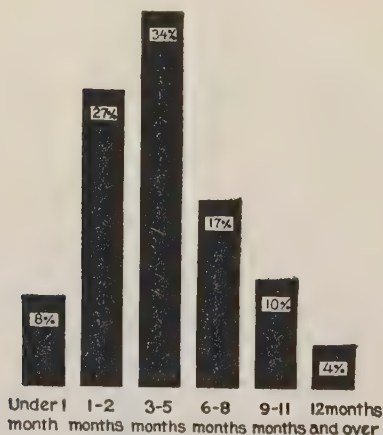
of living is reflected in the fact that more mothers were gainfully employed during the period when the fathers were unemployed than before. But in many localities work was as difficult to find for women as it was for men. The extent to which the family resources stretched before charitable assistance had to be sought—even in the lower level of unskilled workers—is astonishing. Thousands were kept from asking for charity only through most heroic sacrifices by reducing their living costs to the

FIGURE 21

INTERVAL BETWEEN LOSS OF WORK AND APPLICATION FOR AID: 140 FAMILIES APPLYING FOR CHARITABLE AID (1921-1922)*

INTERVAL BETWEEN LOSS OF WORK AND
APPLICATION FOR AID

140 FAMILIES APPLYING FOR CHARITABLE AID
(1921-1922)



*From "Unemployment and Child Welfare," *Children's Bureau Publications*, No. 125, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1923, p. 81.

point where it seriously impaired their health and the health of their children. Many who owned their own homes mortgaged them, others who were buying their homes on payment plans, were compelled to suspend payments and move; families who were living in comfortable rented homes moved to cheaper quarters and took in roomers. Whatever savings the *average* working man had laid aside during the period of high wages was wiped out and in its place were debts—notes, grocery bills, back rent, fuel bills, informal loans. "The long depression drove debts to unprecedentedly high points. Wages had come down, and, as work was re-

sumed, the task of paying up became an incubus that was sometimes as full of terror as unemployment itself."⁸¹

Sufficient has been said to make fairly clear the nature of the hazard of unemployment. That much of this hazard is socially preventable is also clear—especially the hazards of unemployment during normal times. But taking the problem as a whole, there is no remedy without a heroic plan which involves every element of our economic structure—business and industrial, extending even to international relations. "At any rate, whether or not the phenomenon of unemployment can be prevented, minimized, or quickly conquered by statesmanlike means, there remains for the present, and probably for years to come, the question of what to do with the distress caused by unemployment—family disintegration and the manifold other miseries which lack of work creates—and how the community is to bear the burden imposed upon it."⁸²

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⁸¹ Klein, Philip, *The Burden of Unemployment*, New York, 1923, p. 23.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What changes in industry have given rise to the modern industrial conflicts? What social hazards result from these conflicts? Have there been any social benefits gained from these conflicts? Discuss.
2. What are the arguments for and against outlawing strikes?
3. What is group bargaining? What are the advantages of group bargaining? Is it likely that labor would obtain the same advantages by bargaining as individuals? Explain.
4. Are industrial conflicts becoming more or less of a social hazard? Why? Does this indicate that employers and laborers are any better or worse men? Explain.
5. Why is the problem of selecting and finding an occupation so hazardous to-day? What relation has this problem to industrial unrest and "radical movements?"
6. Why is it that the average boy or girl is not willing to accept lower pay at the start if by so doing they are given an opportunity to enter a skilled occupation or gain promotion? What program would you suggest to guard the new worker against "blind alley" jobs?
7. Why is it that so many workers are compelled to change their occupations in middle life? What hazards confront the worker in making these changes? How may he be aided best in making such occupational readjustments?
8. Classify the various types of unemployed and indicate the reasons why each is out of work. Which class of unemployed affects society most?
9. What are the causes of unemployment? What causes are due chiefly to the individual worker? What causes grow out of faulty industrial organization?
10. List what you regard as the major social hazards resulting from unemployment.
11. Outline a program for meeting the problem of unemployment: (1) A plan which would serve as a temporary expediency. (2) A permanent plan looked at from a long-time point of view.

CHAPTER 20

THE SOCIAL HAZARDS OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL LIFE (*Continued*)

THE FAMILY INCOME HAZARDS

"The American worker to-day is more prosperous and more contented, than any worker in the world. To every three families in the United States there are two automobiles and two telephones. More people own their own homes proportionately than do the people of any other country. The savings deposits in the United States increased from \$8,400,000,000 in 1912 to \$20,874,000,000 in 1924. In the same period, the number of savings depositors increased from 12,584,000 to 38,868,000."¹

The wage level for the United States, when compared with the wage level of other countries for the same types of labor, seems high. It is six times the wage of Italy, five times the wage of Belgium, four times the wage of France, more than three times the wage of Germany, and more than twice the wage of England.²

On the surface all this looks very well. It would not seem that there are any serious social hazards lurking in such pleasing figures. While the American worker may fare better than the workers of most of the European countries, and his *money wage* may seem high, this does not mean that the wage-earner's family "lives on easy street." These optimistic figures mask a number of serious social hazards to the *family income*.

There are at least two income hazards which are ever-present cause for anxiety for the average wage-earner's family: (1) *adequacy of the income* for meeting the needs of a growing family, and for giving them the necessities and comforts regarded as essential for "the American standard of living," and (2) *regularity of income* to enable the family to get along without alternating periods of want and deprivation.

When we speak of *adequacy of income* it is not the *money wage* which we have in mind, but it is what the money wage will buy. It is the *real wage*—the *purchasing power* of the wage—that we are thinking about. Now when we compare the American wage with European wages from

¹ *Associated Employers' Digest*, Indianapolis, April-May, 1925.

² *Ibid.*

this point of view, the contrast is not so great. And, when we compare the wage of to-day with the wage paid before the World War, we notice that there has not been so much actual increase in prosperity after all—the cost of living has advanced, and the dollar to-day will purchase about the same amount of groceries that sixty cents would purchase in 1914. Wages always lag behind price advancements. As a matter of fact, it is this lag of wages which gives rise to a large part of the industrial unrest and labor disputes. Wages usually fall before prices come down—and fall faster and further.

But it is not merely a question of advancing prices which makes it difficult to make the wage adequate; an equally important factor is the advancing standard of living in America. It is well to keep in mind that the struggle in America is not a struggle for existence—it is a struggle for standards. The wage-earner not only wants to live in better houses than the workers lived in a generation ago; the public and the law *require* it, and largely *arrange* it. Health regulations, fire protection, and civic pride have forced better housing in most cities. Most wage-earners of the cities now are provided with city water, sewage disposal, garbage collection, sanitary conveniences, and paved streets. The worker not only *wants* to give his children a better education than he received; the law *requires* it, and it makes it difficult for the child to secure any employment which would be of much assistance to the family income. Lack of shoes or clothing—and in many cities lack of food—is no longer adequate excuse for a child remaining out of school. If parents cannot provide these necessities the school or someone else will. In almost every phase of family life the American standard of living demands more than was demanded of the family a generation ago. We should keep this fact in mind when we are discussing *adequate* family income.

Now the wage-earner who is the head of a family, and must maintain that family on the “decent” standard of living, faces another quandary. The wage he receives is not altogether a *family wage*! The wage system, as it has gradually taken shape with the progress of the Industrial Revolution, was not based upon the income needs of the family. The non-family men and women and children have been—and still are—competitors in the labor market with the man who is the head of a family. The tendency of this competition is to pull the wage-scale downward towards the point where it is sufficient to meet the needs of the non-family worker, but not sufficient for maintaining the family-man on the same plane as his fellow-workers who “enjoy single blessedness.” This fact has not seemed to seriously block marriage. It is either taken for

granted that the sacrifice is "a part of the game," or blind faith is placed in the false assumption that "two can live as cheaply as one." Undoubtedly, however, the failure of the wage to maintain for the married man the standard of the non-family worker is a cause for *some* of the increase of divorce and family desertion.

We have somehow gotten the popular idea that because people are poor they have most of the children, and because some people are rich they thereby have almost no children. But is this really the case?

"The poor do not have children because they are poor, *they are poor because they have children*. The rich are not childless because they are rich, *they are rich because they are childless*. It is the cost of rearing a family. Take two boys starting with equal prospects, equally good situations and income. They marry at the same time and get an even start in life. In one case at the end of the first marriage year a child is born. Let us say that every two years thereafter a child is born until there are five children. In the other case the couple remain childless. Let us suppose these two young men have a wage or salary income of \$2,500 each. Now let us see what happens.

"The childless man, presuming equal economy and thrift in each party, saves his money and puts it in a bank. The other expends his money in the necessary expense growing out of the birth and care of a child. In a comparatively few years the childless man has accumulated \$1,000 with which he can begin to make profitable investments, so that his savings are earning a very appreciable addition to his salary income.

"According to Dr. Louis I. Dublin, Statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, who has carefully worked this matter out, it costs \$7,238 to rear a child to the age of eighteen, this on the standard of living of a family with an income of \$2,500 a year. Let us make it even money, \$7,200, and it must be understood that this is exclusive of the \$1,100 which the public pays to educate that child in the public schools. The net cost of the parent is \$7,200 per child at the age of eighteen. If this bare sum of money without any investment or any income therefrom be considered, the man of family has invested \$36,000 in cash in his family, which sum in and of itself would in the old days before we began measuring fortunes by billions have been considered a respectable fortune. At any rate it would lift him out of the ranks of the poor. On the other hand the childless man has not only saved this \$36,000 from his salary but he had had an opportunity to use it as cash capital during a period of twenty-seven years from his marriage to the time the other man's fifth child would be eighteen years old. His capital has accumulated, in other words, for twenty-seven years plus the interest or dividends on that growing capital. If extremely fortunate in his investments he may with this sort of a start become what is called a very rich man.

"If it be objected that the figures quoted from Dr. Louis I. Dublin are based upon a family income too high to be of consequence to the world in general or even to the United States taken as a whole, my answer is this,—Dr. Dublin's figures show practically that the cost of rearing a child to the

age of eighteen on a given standard of living equals the earnings of practically three years of a man's life. If three children must be maintained to keep up the present population of the race then nine years of each man's life must be given to the maintenance of the status quo of population. Now as the income of the man decreases the standard of life will decrease, not the number of children . . . The number of years' work that the child costs the wage earner or father does not materially change, even though his income reaches a level where his children are so underfed that they do not develop into valuable citizens . . . I think it is conceded that the mother will feed her children whether or not she has enough to eat . . . Another thing,—as the earnings of the father decrease below a certain point the death rate of children increases and the fewer of those born are raised to maturity.”*

We have quoted Mr. Stewart at length because he has stated the situation so clearly. He has given us a fair picture of the comparative situations of the family man and the non-family man with reference to the wage system. When the wage is decreased the retrenchments made by the *non-family man* may be an inconvenience; but the retrenchments which must be made by the *family man* amount to this inconvenience multiplied by the number in the family—which often means want, suffering, working mothers, undernourishment, exposures, sickness, lapse of insurance, and death of the baby.

The relation of family income to infant mortality is brought out in Figure 22.

To be sure there are a good many causes for low wages and for irregular wages. But no matter what the cause, the fact remains *that the hazards to the family resulting from inadequate and irregular income are among the most blighting and harrowing of all the hazards of our modern industrial life.*

Society, in its other phases, has recognized the family as the fundamental unit; but industry and business enterprise generally has developed its wage system based upon the individual, not the family. In providing public schools, the public aids the family by expending \$1,100 for the education and training of each child.⁴ The income tax has recognized the family as a unit, and to some extent the problem of financing the family, by allowing exemptions for the dependent members of the household. Most of the social insurance plans—especially the Federal Compensation Act and most of the compensation provisions of the various states, which provide for employee compensation in case of accidents—recognize the

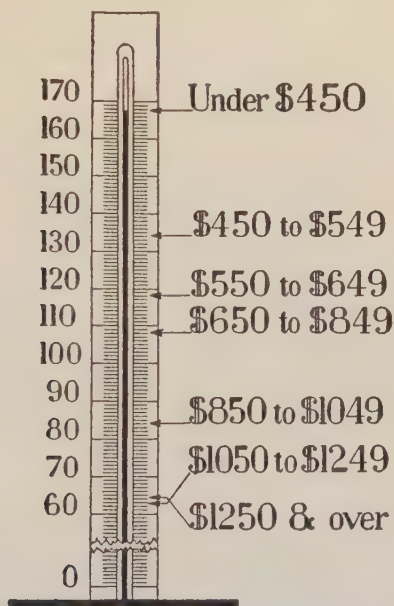
* Stewart, Ethelbert, "A Family Wage-Rate vs. a Family Social Endowment Fund," *Social Forces*, Vol. VI, September, 1927, pp. 121-122.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

family as a unit and adjust payments on the basis of the number in the family who are dependent upon the wage of the injured employee. Many of the labor unions maintain mutual insurance funds for strike benefits, unemployment and sickness, and provide for payments in accordance with

FIGURE 22

INFANT MORTALITY RATES ACCORDING TO FATHER'S EARNINGS: COMBINED FIGURES FOR EIGHT CITIES *



(As wages decrease, the baby death-rate rises.)

* *Report*, Chief of Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1918, p. 11.

the family needs. In practically all discussions and controversies over what constitutes "a fair wage," this problem of financing a wage-earner's family occupies the major center of interest. There seems to be a definite trend towards lifting the "fair wage" from a scale which is set entirely by the non-family worker to a scale which is dictated to a larger extent by the family needs. Many employers are opposed to recognizing these "sentimental factors, which are foreign to sound economics," in setting wage rates; they insist that competition in the labor market is the only sound basis for an economic wage. Nevertheless there seems to be a grow-

ing sentiment which recognizes family hazards under such a competitive wage and considers these hazards as a part of the costs of production—if not chargeable to industry, they are charges to society at large.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS AND HEALTH HAZARDS

Another group of social hazards of our modern industrial life relates to industrial accidents and occupational disease. Conditions under which people work affect their health and vitality and thus their industrial and social efficiency. It is generally agreed that industrial accidents and sickness which result from bad working conditions constitute one of the major causes for poverty and dependency.⁶

Any sudden calamity always affects the wage-earner and his family most severely. As a rule, there is not a sufficient surplus of earnings to keep the family from falling into poverty. Some are aided by small amounts of insurance, and most states now provide for compensation for accidents. But these aids are rarely enough to cover the needs of the family.

Complete statistics on the extent of industrial accidents are, as yet, unavailable, as there is not uniformity among the various states in regard to reporting accidents—some states do not record accidents which cause less than seven days disability. The approximate extent of the loss due to accident during 1922 is indicated in Table 26.

TABLE 26

EXTENT AND COSTS OF INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES—1922 *

<i>Type of injury</i>	<i>Number of accidents</i>	<i>Working days lost</i>	<i>Wage loss at \$4.50 per day</i>
Death	21,232	127,392,000	\$ 573,264,000
Permanent total disability	1,728	10,368,000	46,656,000
Permanent partial disability	105,629	51,494,357	231,724,607
Temporary total disability**	2,324,829	37,915,613	170,620,259
Total	2,453,418	227,169,970	\$1,022,264,866

* *United States Monthly Labor Review*, Washington, November, 1923, p. 1.

** Accidents resulting in loss of time other than the day on which accident occurred.

The National Safety Council estimated that in 1923 there were 3,000,000 industrial accidents, of which 23,000 were fatal and 115,000 resulted in permanent disability, and that the total costs of these accidents

⁶ Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, New York, 1926, pp. 76-77.

amounted to more than a billion dollars.⁶ In spite of the growing zeal for accident prevention and increased use of safety appliances the number injured and killed in industry mounts every year.

Mining is an especially dangerous occupation and the report of the Department of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania gives us some idea of the *social costs of coal*. In 1926 there were 180,419 industrial accidents, largely mining accidents, reported—2,135 fatal. The compensation awarded to the injured workers or to their families amounted to \$12,979,641—of this amount \$5,278,927 went to the families of men who were killed; \$3,384,399 was paid out for permanent disabilities, and \$4,316,315 in temporary disability—cases with a disability keeping the employee from work less than seven days are not counted.⁷ Men killed in coal mines of the United States were reported by the United States Bureau of Mines as 2,230 in 1925; 2,381 in 1924; 2,458 in 1923. In 1910 there was an unusually large number of fatal mine accidents which claimed 2,821 lives.⁸

Iron and steel has annually claimed its toll of life of workers. But the steel industry has been especially active in accident prevention—in installing safety appliances and in the education of the worker—and the annual accident list has been reduced 83 per cent since 1913. Secretary of Labor Davis wrote Judge Gary, head of the United States Steel Corporation, regarding this preventive work: "What especially pleased me is your reported statement that the United States Steel Corporation had found that accident prevention and safety work really pay from a dollar-and-cents point of view. You are reported as having stated that the Corporation *in ten years* spent \$9,763,063 in accident prevention work, and that the savings resulting therefrom has been \$14,609,920 in addition to the fact that 250,000 men had been saved from injury, and probably more than 40,000 saved from fatal injury."⁹

Even at best there would be a large toll of life and a large loss of earning power through industrial accidents, but the present losses are largely preventable. If industry in general fully applied the safety measures now known, and if employers generally saw to it that their employees were schooled and trained in accident prevention and first aid, it is highly probable that the present hazards of industry could be cut in half.

⁶ *National Safety News*, April, 1924.

⁷ *Labor and Industry*, May, 1927, pp. 31-36.

⁸ *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-1926*, United States Department of Labor Bulletin, No. 439, Washington, 1927, p. 230.

⁹ *Literary Digest*, August 7, 1926, p. 22.

But safety measures and education against occupational hazards must not be limited to accident prevention alone. The health hazards due to working with materials which are injurious to health, or working under conditions which endanger health are causes of economic and social losses to even a greater extent than accidents. As a matter of fact, one way of lessening accidents is to improve the working conditions which affect the vitality, alertness and health of the worker.

Industrial poisons are causes of many deaths and for much loss of time through sickness. Industrial hygiene is doing much to call attention to these injurious substances and in developing the ways and means of protecting the worker against them. Though much has been accomplished, there is scarcely more than a beginning made. Some of the poisons which are causes of much loss of life and of much sickness are here listed:

- Phosphorus poisoning, especially in the match industry
- Lead poisoning, prevalent in the paint industry
- Brass poisoning, in many industries, especially polishers
- Arsenic poisoning, glass industry
- Mercury poisoning, used in many industries
- Acid fumes, especially in soldering
- Aniline oils, dye industries
- Fumes from dryers, as benzine, benzol, naphtha, and turpentine, in paints and varnishes, and dry cleaning
- Anthrax, in leather, brush manufacturing, and hair industries
- Carbon monoxide poisoning

There are perhaps hundreds of "industrial poisons," and as new processes and materials are brought into use the number of these hazards increase.¹⁰

Bad working conditions add to the menace of industrial poisons, and lower the vitality of the worker, making him more susceptible to disease or so weakening him that his working life is shortened. The death-rate in industrial occupations is much higher than the rate for the whole population of the same age group. The working conditions which cause most of this drain on vitality and result in "scrapping" of the industrial worker may in general be classified as follows:

Excessive fatigue, due to long hours, monotony, strain, and machine vibration.

Poor ventilation, especially smoke-filled, gas-laden, or dusty and stagnant atmosphere.

Injurious dust, as in abrasive industry, and textile industries.

Dampness.

¹⁰ Hayhurst, E. R., *Industrial Health Hazards and Occupational Diseases*, Ohio State Board of Health, 1915, pp. 42 ff.

Excessive fluctuations of temperature, as in the steel industry.

Poor lighting or glare which affects eyesight, causes fatigue, and saps nervous energy.

Gas, fumes and irritating chemicals.

Defective posture.

Poor sanitation.

Lack of facilities for treatment of minor injuries.

Many occupations foster a number of these hazards to health, and the worker is often unconscious of these until it is too late.¹¹ Often after he is unable to continue work, he is unaware of the causes which have resulted in his break-down. Generally, the compensation acts have recognized these hazards in much the same category as accidents. But their diagnosis is not always clear and easy to make, and the fact that they generally work slowly, makes it difficult to apply the needed measures of relief. For this reason the health hazards of industry are even greater causes of poverty and dependency than accidents. The Boston family social work agencies have found that in thirteen per cent of the families under their care, industrial accident and occupational disease were the chief causes leading to dependency, and that in more than two-thirds of these cases occupational disease was the major factor.¹²

THE HAZARD OF OLD AGE

Finally, not the least of the social hazards of modern industrial life, is the hazard of old age. In the early days, before machinery came into use, the worker with his own tools set his own pace of work. Whether one man could do more or less than another did not materially interfere with his having a part in producing things. The old man found his pace of work and did what he could. He had the satisfaction of feeling that he was at least useful and could be independent and largely self-supporting.

With the development of modern industrialism all this has changed. Industry to-day calls for the maximum efficiency of the laborer. This is essentially a demand for the laborer who is still in his youth or in the prime of life. The pace set by the machine is a pace which only the strong can endure and even they do not endure; but are soon "burned out."

"Modern industry mortgages the future for the sake of the present, and makes the workers prematurely old. At the same time it offers less and less employment suited to the abilities of old people. To retain such employees at

¹¹ See *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-1926*, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1927, pp. 261-325, for a discussion of the various industrial poisons and health hazards.

¹² *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings, 1925*, pp. 489 ff.

their accustomed tasks after they have passed their prime and lost their vigor means that the tone and efficiency of the whole establishment is lowered. Senility and incompetence may be tolerated in government service, but it cannot survive in business. Many concerns will not take on new men who are over thirty-five. . . . Gray hairs make it difficult for a man to find a position."¹³

It seems pathetically strange in an age when science is conquering disease and lengthening the span of life that our industrial system should each year be burning out men and pushing them off the pay-rolls at an earlier age. Thus prolonging the life of the worker means prolonging his period of dependency.

"If old age is considered as beginning at sixty-five, a greater number reach it to-day than lived to attain it even thirty years ago. This is true because of reduced mortality at younger ages. Mr. Dublin states that under the conditions in this country in 1901, out of a total of 100,000 born, 40,911 might expect to live to be sixty-five; while of 100,000 born in 1924, 52,466 would live to be sixty-five. Swelling the numbers of the aged in 1926 also are the survivors among the foreign-born who came to this country as young adults thirty, forty or fifty years ago. The United States Census in 1920 reports 4,933,215 persons as at least sixty-five years old. If the rate of increase between 1910 and 1920 as shown in the Census is being maintained after 1920, an estimate of the number who have reached or passed sixty-five by January 1, 1927, is 5,642,486. The growth in numbers is at the rate of about 100,000 a year. Whereas the aged formed 3.8 per cent of the total population in 1890, they formed 4.7 per cent in 1920 and possibly 4.9 per cent in 1927. The gain is proportionate as well as numerical."¹⁴

In the face of the industrial hazards which we have just discussed, there are some employers who see no reason why the working man should not be able to save enough to take care of him in old age. They do not see why society or the state should be concerned about old-age pensions or plans for care and treatment of the aged. "My contention is," writes one employer, "that it is possible for the great mass of our people, out of current earnings, to amass five thousand dollars by the time they reach the age of pensions, if they will conscientiously try to do so. . . . The fear of old age dependence is a wholesome fear. It is one of our most precious assets. If we allow it to be taken away, by the assurance that in old age the state will step in and assume responsibility we shall be giving up a good thing for the sake of a much less valuable thing."¹⁵ In 1922, there

¹³ Catlin, W. B., *The Labor Problem*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1926, p. 83.

¹⁴ *Care of the Aged in Chicago*, Department of Public Welfare, Chicago, 1927, pp. 11-12.

¹⁵ MacIlwain, G. E., "In Behalf of the Poorhouse," *Open Shop Review*, July, 1927, p. 251.

were 85,889 inmates in the 2,183 poorhouses of the United States. These poorhouses represent a public investment of \$150,485,231, and the average annual cost per inmate was \$334.64 for care and treatment.¹⁶ That the death rate in these human dumping grounds is high is to be noted in the fact that 60,484 had been admitted during 1922. Of this number admitted in 1922, there were 44,934 "males" and 15,550 "females." Of the "males" admitted 6,252 were able-bodied "for their age," and 15,800 were able to do light work—almost half of the male population of the poorhouses were industrial derelicts, cast-offs, who were still able to do some productive work. About the same proportion of the "females" were able-bodied and able to do light work.¹⁷

The Massachusetts Commission on Old Age Pensions found a quarter of a million aged—over sixty-five years—in that state. Of this number 84.4 were non-dependent, while 15.6 were recipients of pensions, aided by charitable agencies, or in institutions. One out of every six of those who were listed as non-dependent had no income and were being cared for entirely by others. Only four out of every ten of the non-dependent group had accumulated property valued at \$5,000 or more, and three out of every ten of this group of non-dependents owned no property whatsoever. In spite of the fact that 84.4 were not listed as recipients of charity, 65 per cent were either partially or wholly supported by others, and only 35 per cent were self-supporting.¹⁸

But by arbitrarily defining old age as being "sixty-five years of age and over," is leaving a wide gap between the age at which the average worker is shunted out of industry and the age at which he may legally be listed in the "old age" group. Many workers are thrown on the industrial scrap heap before they have reached the age of fifty. Modern medicine, nursing services, clinics, and dispensaries keep them in fair health but they are no longer able to stand the speed of their former jobs, and younger hands have taken their place. Some are fortunate enough to have considerate employers who find "light jobs," as gatekeeper, time-keeper, watchman, and elevator operator, for them. Some of the larger industries maintain a retirement pension. But most of the great mass of workers who are "superannuated" from industry are dependent upon

¹⁶ *Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-1926*, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1927, pp. 445-454.

¹⁷ *Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*, United States Bureau of Census, Washington, 1925, p. 67.

¹⁸ *Report on Old Age Pensions*, Commission on Pensions, Massachusetts, 1925, p. 38.

"knocking about at odd jobs." Periods of industrial depression and "hard times" find them in the bread-lines or otherwise dependent upon charities.

It is not our purpose here to discuss the various plans and programs for the treatment of this problem. We aim merely to make clear the fact that old age is one of the most critical hazards of our industrial age. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note that there is a growing public recognition of this hazard. This interest is manifested in two movements which are gaining rapid headway.

On the one hand, there is a growing interest in old age pensions—eleven states have passed laws providing for old age pension systems, and more than twenty other states have similar provisions pending before their legislative bodies.¹⁹ Many trade unions have developed mutual old age insurance funds.²⁰ Many fraternal orders have similar provisions. Several church bodies have established homes for the aged, and some—notably the Episcopal Church—have developed *retirement funds* for their ministers. Some states have provided for a plan for teachers' retirement fund.²¹

On the other hand there is a growing interest in the developing of industries, occupations, and opportunities for the "handicapped," and the old-age worker finds himself classified in this group. The "Goodwill Industries" and "Toy Shops"—semi-charitable organizations—are springing up in many cities and give promise of becoming self-supporting enterprises which are bound to fill a vast social need.

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¹⁹ *Old Age in Chicago*, pp. 9-10.
²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-130.
²¹ See Wisconsin teachers' retirement provisions, *Wisconsin Statutes*, 1925, Ch. 42.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What are the hazards to the family income resulting from present-day industrial organization? What plan would you suggest for meeting these hazards?
2. Are industrial accidents increasing or decreasing? Why? Do you think it would be possible to prevent all accidents? If the number of accidents were reduced by one-half what would be the economic saving per year?
3. What are the health hazards of modern industry? Why is it more difficult to obtain compensation for a case of occupational disease than it is for an accident which causes a similar loss of wage?
4. What is the relation of industrial accidents and health hazards to poverty and dependency?
5. From your own observation in your community, make a list of the occupations and gainful employments followed by the men and women whom you regard as belonging in the old-age group. Do these occupations provide an income equivalent to the standard wage of the community?
6. About what proportion of the people you know in this age group are self-supporting entirely? What proportion are partially self-supporting? What proportion are totally dependent?
7. What opportunities would there be for developing in your community the sort of occupations and industrial opportunities suited to those who are no longer able to obtain employment as regular industrial workers?

CHAPTER 21

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Women and children have always had an important part of the productive work of the world. But from primitive times down to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution their work was largely of a *domestic* nature—it was performed in or about the home. The coming in of the factory system and the growth of modern business enterprise have removed from the home the major part of the productive work, and placed that work into an altogether different setting and created an altogether different set of social relationships.

In the “good old days” the women did most of the agricultural labor; they prepared and stored most of the food supply; they did the spinning and weaving. The apprentice system under the guilds of the middle ages was a form of child labor. Both women and children were employed in large numbers to break down the monopolies of the guilds just prior to the opening of the Industrial Revolution.¹

In many instances the conditions of employment in those days virtually amounted to slavery—the legal and social status of the woman and child amounted to that of chattels belonging to the “head of the house.” In those days a large family—especially a large family of boys—was regarded by the father as his chief economic asset. Just as soon as the boys were old enough to do some work they were “bound out,” and the father collected the earnings of his children as well as the earnings of his wife. In those days it was the *amount of labor* that a man controlled that gave him independence and leisure; to-day it is the *amount of capital* that a man controls that enables him to be independent and to retire from hard work.

But this old idea of the husband's and father's claim to the earnings of his wife and children has not entirely disappeared. It still persists among certain elements of our foreign-born Americans. Jane Addams relates an incident which typifies this attitude: “An Italian father came to us in great grief over the death of his eldest child, a little girl of twelve, who had brought the largest wages into the family funds. In the midst of his

¹ Catlin, W. B., *The Labor Problem*, New York, 1926, p. 35.

genuine sorrow he said: 'She was the oldest kid I had. Now I shall have to go back to work again until the next one is able to take care of me.'"²

For the most part, however, this old *property* concept of women and children has been supplanted in America by a new idea—an idea which sounds well, but often works as badly as the old one. This new idea places the full responsibility for family support upon the husband and father, and further assumes that the girl or woman who works must, under the circumstances, be receiving at least a portion of her support from her father, her brothers, a husband, or some other "family source." Consequently, the labor of women and children has come to be regarded as a sort of *supplementary labor reserve*. The popular assumption seems to be that this supplementary labor reserve may be drawn upon only under certain conditions: (1) It may be drawn upon in a national emergency, when there is an unusual social need for increasing production, and the supply of adult male workers is inadequate—as was illustrated during the World War, when women donned overalls and worked beside the men in the factories, and children were excused from school "to do their bit to win the war." (2) It may be drawn upon when there is an acute family emergency and the income of the father has either stopped or has become inadequate to meet the family needs. (3) To a certain extent it is regarded as "all right" for the woman "whose home duties are light" and "who has plenty of unoccupied time," to accept a position which will supplement her husband's income.

This idea that the work of women and children is merely a *supplementary labor reserve* forms the major justification for the low wages generally paid for their labor. It was a subtle recognition of this idea that caused the American Silk Industry to locate in the mining towns of Pennsylvania. From Sanbury to Scranton, along the Susquehanna, and fifty miles South, wherever you see a towering coal dump, you will usually find a silk mill. Why? Coal mining is more or less of a seasonal industry, and the miners work only part of the time. Their families usually have a hard time "making ends meet" during slack seasons. The wives and children of the miners would gladly accept employment which would enable them to supplement the inadequate miners' wage. So here we have an industry created to employ the women and children of the miners' families.³ The wages which these mills would need to pay would not be high, as they are merely supplementary to the wage of the miners. Thus, when the miners are working full time, their wives quit the silk mills; and when

² *Twenty Years at Hull House*, New York, 1910, pp. 199-200.

³ *A History of the Suplan Silk Corporation*, Hazelton, Pennsylvania, 1923.

the mines "slow down," the wives go back to work again. This seasonal employment of the wives of the miners accounts for the major part of the labor *turn-over* in the silk industry.⁴

The "unequal pay for equal work" is the usual thing for girls and women employed in department stores, offices, and factories. The men who are employed in the silk industry are paid practically double the weekly wage paid to the women who are doing identically the same kind of work. Table 27 brings out this wage relationship, which may be taken as typical for the country as a whole:

TABLE 27

MEN'S AND WOMEN'S AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS IN REPRESENTATIVE NEW YORK STATE FACTORIES (SHOP WORKERS ONLY), NOVEMBER, 1926*

Industry	Total state		New York City		Remainder of State	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Stone, clay and glass products..	34.20	16.59	44.02	16.24	29.49	16.70
Metal, machinery, and conveyances	32.08	17.59	33.46	17.77	31.92	17.42
Furs, leather and rubber goods.	33.13	18.22	42.69	22.63	25.91	14.91
Chemicals, oils, paints, etc.	32.22	17.85	30.55	16.64	32.59	17.55
Paper	29.08	15.18			29.15	15.98
Textiles	27.32	16.69	31.76	19.50	26.56	16.63
Clothing, millinery, laundering.	35.94	20.34	39.66	23.28	24.93	14.56
Food, beverages, tobacco	31.61	16.59	33.03	18.92	29.38	14.17
For all industries (average) ...	33.17	18.73	37.00	21.63	30.39	15.68

* Compiled from *Handbook of Labor Statistics* (1924-1926), Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1927, p. 647.

The employment of women and children at lower wages, to do the work in which men are also employed, undermines the wages paid to men—making a supplementary income all the more necessary for family support. It is not possible to estimate the proportion of women and child workers who are *not* in urgent need of the wage they earn, and who are therefore willing to accept a low wage merely for the opportunity of employment and "some spending money." No doubt the number is not large; but the effect that these semi-voluntary workers have upon the wages paid to women and children generally, is extremely bad.

There is still another angle to this idea that the labor of women and

⁴*Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-1926*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1927, p. 581.

children is merely supplementary. The machine, factory and business organization, working conditions, hours, and pace of work are all arranged and planned on the basis of employment of men. Machines are generally built for men operators. When women and children are placed at these machines it is necessary to improvise many adjustments. Generally portable platforms or boxes are placed before the machines for the women and children to stand on—as men are on the average several inches taller. Generally the “reach” required by the machine operation is designed for a full grown man, requiring that the portable platform be a bit higher than the mere difference in height in order that women and children may execute the operations. Aside from the fact that these platforms and boxes make accidents more likely, they restrict the movements of the operator and exact a posture which places added strain on the “supplementary” worker.

Consequently the women and children who go to work in the mills and factories are generally placed at a double disadvantage—a disadvantage in wage, and an equally harmful disadvantage of added strain and added exposure to accidents. Their tasks and conditions of employment generally do not take into account the fact that they are women and children.

These “discriminations” which are so generally characteristic in the employment of women and children, constitute the major issues involved in the present-day movements for bettering the working conditions and economic opportunities for women and children.

EXTENT OF GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

In 1920 the number of women and girls gainfully employed at the time the Census was taken (January) comprised almost one-fifth of all persons who were gainfully employed in the United States. In other words, one worker out of every five was a woman or girl worker. 21.1 per cent of all the women and girls over ten years of age were in some gainful employment.

Table 28 shows the number and per cent of women and girls gainfully employed at each of the census dates since 1870, and, for comparative purposes, the same data are given concerning men.

The apparent decrease in the percentage of women and men employed in 1920 may largely be due to the change in the date at which the census data were collected, and to the fact that considerable progress had been made in child labor legislation during the ten years, reducing the number of juveniles under sixteen who were admitted to employment.⁵

⁵ “In comparing the figures for 1910 and 1920, it is necessary to bear in mind that the census dates changed from April 15 in 1910, to January 1 in 1920. This

TABLE 28

PROPORTION OF WOMEN AND MEN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED, 1880-1920*

Sex and census year	Population ten years of age and over	Persons ten years of age and over engaged in gainful occu- pations		Sex and census year	Population ten years of age and over	Persons ten years of age and over engaged in gainful occu- pations	
		Number	Per cent			Number	Per cent
Women:				Men:			
1880	18,025,627	2,647,157	14.7	1880	18,735,980	14,744,942	78.7
1890	23,060,900	4,005,532	17.4	1890	24,352,659	19,312,651	79.3
1900	28,246,384	5,319,397	18.8	1900	29,703,440	23,753,836	80.0
1910	34,552,712	8,075,772	23.4	1910	37,027,558	30,091,564	81.3
1920	40,449,346	8,549,511	21.1	1920	42,289,969	33,064,737	78.2

* *Handbook of Labor Statistics* (1924-1926), Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1927, p. 640.

It will be noted, however, that the number of women and girls employed decreased only 2.3 per cent, while the number of boys and men decreased 3.1 per cent. It will also be noted that for the United States as a whole the number of women and girls gainfully employed increased 6.4 per cent from 1880 to 1920, while the number of men and boys showed no increase at all.

An analysis of the occupations in which women were employed in 1910 and in 1920 gives us some idea of the trend. It will be noted that the greatest proportional increase of employment has taken place in clerical occupations (which include clerks and office help of factories) in which there was a proportional increase of 9.4 per cent. There was also a proportional gain of 2.8 per cent in professional service, and 2 per cent in trade. The gain in manufacturing and mechanical industries was but one-tenth of a per cent, as compared with a gain of 3.6 per cent for *all workers* in these occupations.⁶ Especially noteworthy is the proportional decrease in domestic and personal service—occupations in which women have always predominated—a decrease of 5.7 per cent! The decrease in agricul-

change in date, the Bureau of Census points out, probably accounts for the decrease shown in the number of women (and children, girls and boys) engaged in agricultural pursuits, since in most localities agricultural work is at or near its lowest ebb in January." *Women's Bureau Bulletin*, No. 46, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1925, p. 2.

⁶ *Handbook of Labor Statistics* (1924-1926), p. 416.

TABLE 29

DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN BY MAIN OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS, 1910 AND 1920*

Occupational Division	Females ten years of age and over			
	1910		1920	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	1,807,501	22.4	1,084,128	12.7
Extraction of minerals	1,094	**	2,864	**
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	1,820,570	22.5	1,930,341	22.6
Transportation	106,625	1.3	213,054	2.5
Trade	468,088	5.8	667,792	7.8
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	13,558	.2	21,794	.3
Professional service	733,891	9.1	1,016,498	11.9
Domestic and personal service	2,531,221	31.3	2,186,924	25.6
Clerical Occupations	593,224	7.3	1,426,116	16.7
<i>Total, all occupations</i>	8,075,772	100.0	8,549,511	100.0

* *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. 4, *Occupation*, p. 34.

** Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

tural occupations, as we have just noted, may largely be explained by the fact that the enumeration in 1920 was made in January.

NATIONALITY AND RACE OF WOMEN WHO ARE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

Another interesting angle to this movement of women towards the occupations is to be seen in an analysis of the nativity and race of the women gainfully employed in 1910 and 1920. Especially significant is the

TABLE 30

PROPORTION OF WOMEN IN SPECIFIED NATIONALITY AND RACE GROUPS, GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, 1910 AND 1920*

Nativity and race group	1910	1920
	Per cent	Per cent
Native white of native parentage	17.1	17.2
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage	24.6	24.8
Foreign-born white	21.7	18.4
Negro	54.7	38.9

* Prepared from data in *Handbook of Labor Statistics (1924-1926)*, p. 642.

decrease in the number of foreign-born and negro women who were gainfully employed in 1920. Doubtless many of the negro women were counted unemployed who would have been found employed in cotton picking season. But to a large extent this decrease in these two groups may be taken as indicative of the advance in the standards of living and economic well-being of these groups in the population.

AGES OF WOMEN WHO ARE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

It is perhaps to be expected that the majority of the gainfully employed women are young: 41.8 per cent of the women workers as compared with only 22.4 per cent of the men workers are under twenty-five years of age, and 81.8 per cent are under forty-five years of age as compared with 69.5 per cent of the men workers.

TABLE 31

THE AGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN ALL OCCUPATIONS, AND THE AGE OF WOMEN IN THE MAIN OCCUPATIONAL DIVISIONS, 1920, EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES *

Age Group	All occupations		Agriculture, forestry, etc.	Extraction of minerals	Mfg. and mech. industries	Transportation	Trade	Public service	Professional service	Domestic and personal service	Clerical occupations
	Men	Women									
10 to 15 years	2.2	4.1	17.3	5.1	4.2	1.5	2.1	0.2	0.1	1.7	1.4
16 to 19 years	7.7	16.5	14.1	21.0	22.6	31.6	18.4	2.9	8.0	9.4	24.1
20 to 24 years	12.5	21.2	12.1	17.8	19.8	33.2	20.8	13.4	29.4	13.8	33.8
25 to 44 years	47.1	40.0	31.1	39.3	37.8	29.7	43.7	55.5	48.3	44.5	36.4
45 to 64 years	25.9	15.8	20.3	14.1	14.0	3.6	13.7	25.5	12.8	26.0	4.0
65 and over..	4.5	2.3	5.0	2.3	1.4	.3	1.1	2.2	1.1	4.3	.2
Age unknown	0.2	0.2	.1	.3	.1	.1	.2	.3	.3	.3	.1
10 years and over.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Compiled from *Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920)*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. IV, *Occupations*, p. 376, Table 3.

A comparison of the figures, as shown in Table 31, indicates that the lowest age level is to be found in the group employed in *transportation*.[†] Sixty-six and three-tenths per cent in this occupational group were under twenty-five years of age and only 3.9 per cent were over forty-four years

[†] Transportation includes those employed in *water transportation*; road, and street transportation,—including building, repair and maintenance; railroad transportation; express mail, telegraph and telephone. Telegraph and telephone service offer employment to the largest number of girls and women. The 106,625 women engaged in this general division of occupation in 1910 had practically doubled in 1920.

of age. In all probability this is due to the fact that telephone operating is almost entirely in the hands of young women and girls. Manufacturing and mechanical industries, which include the factory workers, are at a comparatively low age level. Forty-six and six-tenths per cent of the women in this occupational group are under twenty-five years of age, and only 15.5 per cent are over forty-four. The clerical occupation shows even a lower age level than the factory workers—59.3 per cent are under twenty-five and but 4.2 per cent are over forty-four. Public service and professional service show a prevalence of the workers in the older age groups—over half of the public service workers and nearly half of the professional service workers are between twenty-five and forty-four years of age. Eighty-one per cent of the public service workers are between twenty-five and sixty-four years of age.

The proportion of the gainfully employed women in each age period is shown in Table 32.

TABLE 32

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF MALES AND FEMALES IN EACH AGE PERIOD ENGAGED IN GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, 1920*

<i>Age period</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
10 to 13 years	258,259	6.0	119,804	2.8
14 years	174,683	16.9	82,911	8.2
15 years	281,306	30.4	143,895	15.4
16 years	501,134	51.3	277,823	27.9
17 years	602,322	65.0	331,369	35.7
18 to 19 years	1,443,968	78.3	802,235	42.3
20 to 24 years	4,121,392	91.0	1,809,075	38.1
25 to 44 years	15,579,586	97.2	3,417,373	22.4
45 to 64 years	8,552,175	93.8	1,352,479	17.1
65 years and over	1,492,837	60.1	196,900	8.1
Unknown age	57,075	61.5	15,674	28.0
Total population over 10 years of age gainfully employed ...	33,064,737	78.2	8,549,511	21.1
Total population over 10 years of age	42,289,969	...	40,499,346	...

* Compiled from *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (1920), United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. IV, *Occupations*, pp. 440-443, Table 15.

It will be noted that the number and proportion of boys who are employed in their early teens are practically double those of the girls. It is

unfortunately true that boys are more often sent to work while the girls are sent to school.⁸

TABLE 33

PER CENT OF PERSONS SEVEN TO TWENTY YEARS OF AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL, BY AGE CLASSES AND SEX, IN URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES: 1920*

Age group	Class of community	Per cent attending school		
		Both sexes	Male	Female
7 to 13	Urban	94.4	94.4	94.4
	Rural	87.6	87.4	87.9
14 and 15	Urban	80.7	80.6	80.8
	Rural	79.4	78.6	80.2
16 and 17	Urban	39.2	37.4	40.9
	Rural	46.1	42.7	49.8
18 to 20	Urban	14.0	15.0	13.1
	Rural	15.6	14.6	16.5

* Ross, F. A., *School Attendance in 1920*, United States Bureau of the Census Monographs, No. V, Washington, 1924, pp. 3-10.

It is evident from Table 33 that a larger proportion of girls than boys, especially in the rural communities, are able to complete the grade school and continue on into high school.

Not until their fifteenth and sixteenth year do any considerable number of girls go into gainful employment. One girl in twelve of fourteen years of age is gainfully employed; one girl in seven of fifteen years of age is employed; more than one in every four of the girls of sixteen years of age is at work; and over a third of the girls seventeen years of age are earning.

While the proportion of employment for girls who are still in their teens is high, it is significant to note that more than three-fourths of the total number of women in gainful occupations are over twenty years of age, and considerably more than half are over twenty-four years of age. Numerically, the problem of child labor is not half as great among girl workers as it is among boy workers, though the probable harm to future generations could, by the employment of girls, more than offset this numerical advantage.

MARRIED WOMEN IN THE OCCUPATIONS

Married women comprised almost one-fourth of all the women who were gainfully employed in 1920—a somewhat less proportion than in

* Ross, F. A., *School Attendance in 1920*, United States Bureau of the Census Monographs, No. V, Washington, 1924, pp. 3-10.

1910.⁹ Except for the relatively few women who were employed in extraction of minerals industry, 46 per cent of whom were married, the chief occupations in which married women are employed in large numbers are agriculture (39.7 per cent), public service (34.6 per cent), domestic and personal service (29.4 per cent) and manufacturing and mechanical industries (24.5 per cent). Clerical work and professional service, and transportation are very largely dominated by unmarried women.

That the proportion of married women entering the occupations is increasing is to be seen in the fact that in 1890 less than five of every hundred married women were gainfully employed; in 1920, nine out of every hundred were gainfully employed. "A great proportionate increase in the employment of married women during the last ten years has taken place in manufacturing and mechanical industries. In that group, although all women employed increased only 7 per cent, married women increased 41 per cent between 1910 and 1920. In occupations connected with trade there has been an increase of 21 per cent for all women employed, but an increase of 88 per cent among married women. On the other hand, in domestic and personal service occupations there was a decrease of 12 per cent in the number of married women employed."¹⁰

While 24.7 per cent of all employed women are married, it is significant to know that 12.5 per cent of the workers fifteen to nineteen years of age are married; 11.4 per cent of the workers twenty to twenty-four years of age are married; 9.7 per cent of the group twenty-five to thirty-four years of age; 9.5 per cent of the group thirty-five to forty-four; and 6.6 per cent of the group over forty-five years of age are married.¹¹

It seems, therefore, that there are three general classes of married women in gainful employment: (1) The young married woman who is at the beginning of child-bearing, and whose employment presents certain definite health problems for herself and for her unborn children. (2) There are the young mothers who have growing families, and whose employment away from home requires that they carry two full-time jobs—that of their employment, and that of caring for the home and the children.

⁹ It is likely that the change in the census date accounts for the decreased proportion of married women employed in gainful occupation in 1920. For example, in 1910 the married women comprised 47 per cent of all women employed in agriculture, while in 1920 they comprised 39.7 per cent of the women in this occupational group. Had the 1920 Census been taken in April instead of January, there probably would not have been so great a difference.

¹⁰ Winslow, Mary N., "Married Women in Industry," *Women's Bureau Bulletin*, No. 38, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1924.

¹¹ Fourteenth Census, *Population; 1920*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. IV, *Occupations*, p. 694.

(3) The older married women who are, for the most part, past the child-bearing age, whose children are largely grown, and who perhaps gains more than she risks by being employed away from home.

While a small proportion of these married women have chosen to work as a means of obtaining "personal liberty" and "freedom from the monotony of house work," the studies of recent years would not indicate that their number is large. Most of them are employed because a supplementary income—supplementing the wage of the husband and father—is deemed *necessary*, either as a means of getting out of debt or as a means of supporting the coveted standard of living.

"Whatever may be the extent of their earning capacity, whatever may be the irregularity of their employment, married women are in industry for one purpose and, generally speaking, for one purpose only—to provide necessities for their families or to raise their standard of living. In one study we found that practically all women who were wives or mothers—95 per cent of them, to be exact—contributed all of their earnings to their families. And although these earnings were not as a rule large, they often brought the family income up to a level which was adequate for the maintenance of a satisfactory standard of health and education for the children.

"That is what married women are gaining from their employment in industry. They are gaining the personal joy and satisfaction of increasing the family income so that it more nearly comes up to the level necessary for maintaining adequate standards."¹²

In a study made by the Women's Bureau of the 1920 Census schedules from one industrial town, it was found that 72 per cent of the employed married women had children. In addition to their employment they carried the burden of their homes—most of them did the cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing, and in addition cared for the children. This sort of "freedom" is not far from typical of the situations revealed in the numerous studies made in the industrial centers.¹³

In the lower economic levels of the wage-earning class this employment of mothers exacts even a heavier burden. "In Manchester the mortality among babies of mothers who went out to work during the first year of the baby's life was 227.5 per 1,000, compared to 133.9 for babies of mothers who remained at home and were not gainfully employed. In New Bedford the rate was 167.8 for babies of mothers working away from home, and 108.8 for other babies. . . . In Akron, where rubber is the chief industry, which pays higher wages, family incomes were higher and

¹² Winslow, Mary N., "Married Women in Industry," *Women's Bureau Bulletin*, No. 38, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1924, p. 4.

¹³ See series of separate studies made by the Women's Bureau on *Women in Industry*, United States Labor Department, Washington.

living conditions better, and the death rate for babies of mothers who went to work during the first year of the baby's life was 88.2, while the death rate for the other babies whose mothers stayed at home and were not gainfully employed was 77.2." ¹⁴ Thus improved income and living conditions helped to reduce the hazards of working mothers; but it still cost the lives of eleven babies out of every 1,000 born to bread-winning mothers.

Doubtless, if it were possible or even usual for the normal married working man to earn a wage sufficient to enable him to support his family according to a "decent American standard of living," the problems of the employment of married women—especially the employment of mothers with small children—would solve itself. But the fact remains that the industrial wage is, generally speaking, not a *family wage*, and it is becoming the usual thing, instead of the exceptional, for the family fund to be supplemented by the gainful employment of the wife and mother. Since the trend seems definitely in this direction, it becomes increasingly necessary for society to give more thought and more systematic attention to adjusting our industrial situations so that the hazards to health and welfare may be reduced to a minimum.

THE "SWEATED" INDUSTRIES

We used to hear a great deal about the "sweat shops" and of the exploitation of women and children by the "sweated" industries. For some reason not so much is said any more about those old survivals of domestic industry. But because the furor has subsided does not mean that industrial work has disappeared from the homes and tenements. Attempts at licensing an inspection have improved some of the worst aspects of it, but the "sweating trades" are still with us. In spite of efforts to improve them, they are still a menace and a blight upon the health and welfare of thousands of women and child workers.

No hard and fast line can be drawn between the "sweated" industries and the factory industries, or the so-called "arts and crafts" shops. For example, the clothing industry furnishes perhaps the largest part of the work for the "sweated" industries—the cloth is cut in the factories, sublet to a sub-contractor for finishing; the sub-contractor makes his money by having the work done "at home" at a certain price per garment. When finished, the garments are returned to the factory for inspection, packing, and shipping. "The distinguishing characteristics usually found in a sweated industry are low wages, long working hours, insanitary work-

¹⁴ Winslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

shops, and speeded-up workers; of these four characteristics the emphasis should be placed on the first."¹⁵

In general, there are two types of "sweating." (1) The small shop, set up in a tenement or dwelling house, where the sub-contractor crowds in the necessary machines and employs the women of the neighborhood to come in and do the work under his direct "supervision." The typical sweat-shop of this sort is small, poorly lighted and ventilated, usually insanitary, and no adequate sanitary equipment. (2) The other, and now more prevalent type of "sweating," is sub-letting of the work to be done in the homes of the workers. In this way the worker is assisted by all the available members of the family who happen to be at home nights. The homes are often small, overcrowded, neglected, and poorly lighted. Sickness in the family is generally more of a reason for taking in work, than for withholding it—the consuming public does not know the difference between a garment made in a sick room (with the aid of the diseased) and a garment made under "strictly sanitary" conditions!

The first type of sweat-shop is gradually disappearing, due to enforced legislation regarding standards of places of employment, and due also to the demands made by the organized clothing workers. But the work done in the homes, where no inspector has an opportunity to set standards of cleanliness, lighting, and hours of work, is where the problem offers resistance to solution. In large cities, and their immigrant suburbs, it is easy to obtain the labor of women and children on contracts for "home work." Especially in the neighborhood of factories and businesses which are irregular or seasonal in their employment, and where the efforts of almost every member of the family are needed to supplement the small income of the father.

The manufacturing of artificial flowers, finishing of gloves, millinery work, making garters, picking "goodies" out of nuts, making men's neckties, stringing beads, hemstitching, finishing children's clothes, hemming aprons, sewing and working buttonholes on men's suits. These are a few of the things that are furnishing "opportunity to work in the home." Sometimes cigars and cigarettes are manufactured under these conditions.

The 1927 report of the Department of Labor, New York, says that the clothing industry represents the largest home-work employing industry in the state. A recent study of the two big markets, New York City and Rochester, brings out the following facts: "(a) that 13 per cent of all the workers in the industry in New York City, and 6 per cent in Rochester are

¹⁵ Carlton, F. T., *The History and Problems of Organized Labor*, Revised, New York, 1920, p. 426.

home-workers; (b) that there seems to be no curtailment in the use of home-workers in either of these cities; (c) that home-work production is characterized by great instability of employment, and (d) that the home-workers earn about one-third the amount of factory workers in New York City, more nearly one-half the amount of the factory workers in Rochester."¹⁶

The National Consumers' League, the state and national health agencies, and numerous other groups have helped to educate the public to demand the abolition of the "sweated" industries. The National Consumers' League has furnished its label to mark goods which are made under approved conditions, so that the consumer might be guided in his choices. But the consuming public seldom looks for more than the price tag. Hence the chief means of controlling this parasitic industry is through legislation, employing the police power of the state to the ends of protecting the public health and welfare. In some states the minimum wage law has been employed to take away the abuse of low wages in these home industries. But such industries continue—and continue largely as parasites, exploiting the labor of women and children. It is in the inaccessible home that working conditions are perhaps more unfavorable to the workers and more costly to the public health and welfare.

NATURE AND DIRECTION OF EFFORTS TO IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS OF WOMEN

Efforts to improve the conditions of employment of women have taken a somewhat different route from those designed to improve the working conditions of men. Men have used their unions and group bargaining in matters relating to wages, hours and days off. Women do not seem to be so successful in developing strong labor organizations. Hence they have not been able to wield organized force to protect their best interests or to obtain industrial advantages.¹⁷ The National Women's Trade Union League has been an active force in building up unions wherever possible and in promoting the legislation which would strengthen the position of women in industry.¹⁸ But the membership of women in these labor unions is small compared with the total number employed. Even with the ever-ready assistance from the men's organizations, it is hardly possible for

¹⁶ *Annual Report of the Industrial Commissioner*, Department of Labor, New York, 1927, p. 242.

¹⁷ Carlton, F. T., *The History and Problems of Organized Labor*, New York, 1920, p. 487.

¹⁸ *Report and Proceedings of the 46th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, 1926, p. 184 ff.

the organized women workers to materially affect the working conditions of women in industry.

Consequently, the most effective efforts for improving the industrial outlook of women workers have been directed at obtaining *legislation* and *public action*. This means, of course, that the legal provisions regulating and safeguarding the employment of women will vary widely from state to state, and the effectiveness of such measures depends to a large extent upon the degree of education and the strength of public opinion relative to working conditions for women in the various states.

In general these public measures fall into three general classes: (1) Measures directed towards establishing a minimum wage which would not be "oppressive." (2) Measures directed towards improving working conditions and obtaining the facilities and adjustments for meeting needs of women workers—rest-room facilities, seats, and safety equipment. (3) Restrictive measures directed towards excluding women from those occupations which are most detrimental to their health and well-being, and limiting the hours of employment.

Eight states limit the workday for women to eight hours, fourteen states have a nine-hour day for women. Thirteen states regulate home work. Thirteen states have prohibitions of night work. Twelve states have minimum wage laws for women,—all except one of these having mandatory provisions. Forty states have mothers' pension laws.¹⁹

EXTENT AND NATURE OF THE CHILD LABOR PROBLEM

In 1920 the Census reported 1,060,858 or 8.5 per cent of the children 10 to 15 years of age as being "engaged in gainful employment." When we remember that the enumeration was made in January, when children the nation over are supposed to be attending school, we may take this figure as fairly representing the size of the problem. This would mean that approximately one child in every twelve was engaged as a wage earner instead of attending school. Perhaps this is a better index of the extent of the problem than the figures of the 1910 Census, which were collected in April, after many of the country schools had closed and children were aiding their parents on the farms and otherwise occupied in vacation jobs. The 1910 Census showed 1,990,225 or 18.4 per cent of the children in this age group as gainfully employed.

The extent to which young children are employed is not uniform over the United States as a whole. There is almost none in the Pacific Division,

¹⁹ For the minimum-wage law of Wisconsin, see Ch. 104, *Wisconsin Statutes*, 1925, secs. 104.01 to 104.13; regulation of hours and working conditions see Ch. 103, secs. 103.02 ff.

while the East South Central Division reported 23.7 per cent of its boys and 11.1 per cent of its girls as being gainfully employed. The rural and small town communities show a larger employment of children than do the large cities—for the country as a whole 11.3 per cent of the boys and 5.6 per cent of the girls ten to fifteen years of age were employed, while in the cities of 100,000 population and over 7.5 per cent of the boys and 5.0 per cent of the girls were employed. The employment of boys is largely a rural problem.

As is brought out by Table 35, there is a wide range between the various nationality and race groups in regard to the prevalence of child labor. Child labor is more than three times as prevalent in the negro population as among the native whites of native parentage, and more than twice as prevalent as in the foreign-born population.

TABLE 35

NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN TEN TO FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATION IN THE NATIONALITY AND RACE GROUPS AND IN CITIES OF OVER 100,000 POPULATION, 1910 AND 1920*

Nationality and race	Boys gainfully employed				Girls gainfully employed			
	1920		1910		1920		1910	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
United States	714,248	11.3	1,353,139	24.8	346,610	5.6	637,086	11.9
Native Whites—Na- tive Parentage	527,176	7.0	1,022,561	16.2	136,932	3.7	250,657	8.0
Native Whites—For- eign or mixed pa- rentage	175,060	5.8	265,245	9.9	67,650	4.3	89,203	6.7
Foreign-born Whites.	38,692	9.4	62,997	14.5	15,766	7.7	26,838	12.5
Negroes	317,231	21.9	634,938	46.6	125,354	17.1	269,229	39.4
In cities of 100,000 population and over	100,495	7.5	122,057	11.3	65,860	5.0	86,176	7.8

* Compiled from *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (1920), United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, Vol. IV, *Occupations*, p. 478, Table 5, and p. 597, Table 18.

Table 36 which shows the number and proportion of children ten to fifteen and ten to thirteen years of age employed in the various occupation groups, further indicates the nature of the child labor problem. Sixty-one per cent of the children ten to fifteen years of age and 87 per cent of the

children ten to thirteen years of age were employed in occupations listed under agriculture. Of the 647,309 children ten to fifteen years of age thus listed as engaged in agriculture, 88 per cent were listed as "laborers on the home farm." Others were employed in the oyster and shrimp can-

TABLE 36

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CHILDREN IN THE MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, BY AGE GROUPS: 1920*

Occupation	Children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive		Children 10 to 13 years of age, inclusive	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	1,060,858	100.0	378,063	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	647,309	61.0	328,958	87.0
Farm laborers (home farm) ..	569,824	53.7		**
Farm laborers (working out) ..	63,990	6.0		**
Extraction of minerals	7,191	.7	647	.2
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	185,337	17.5	9,473	2.5
Transportation	18,912	1.8	1,899	.5
Trade	63,368	6.0	17,213	4.6
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	1,130	.1	153	***
Professional service	3,465	.3	621	.2
Domestic and personal service ..	54,006	5.1	12,172	3.2
Clerical occupations	80,140	7.6	6,927	1.8

* "Child Labor in the United States," Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1923, p. 6.

** Figures not yet available.

*** Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

neries along the Gulf coast, and in the other occupations listed under the general heading of agriculture. So far as the work on the home farm goes, child labor is a problem only in so far as it interferes with the educational opportunities of the child, and doubtless the inferior standards of rural education are to no small extent to blame for so many children remaining out of school to work. Wherever the standard of the schools has been raised there has been a decided increase in school attendance and a reduction of child labor during school sessions.

The problem of child labor in manufacturing—where 185,337 or 17.5 per cent of the working children were employed in 1920—is not only a

menace to educational opportunity, but perhaps a greater menace to the health and normal growth of the child. Child labor in factories means an early old age. Very few child laborers ever climb out of the class of unskilled labor, as a matter of fact the great bulk of them remain in the very lowest levels of the unskilled. They, therefore, constitute a very large proportion of poorly paid, casual workers who, in later life, become dependent upon charities for support. It is generally conceded that the shortest cut to the reduction of poverty in the coming generation is to reduce the number of child laborers of this generation.

We have already noted that the problem is more than twice as great for boys as it is for girls, and that more boys than girls are dropping out of school to go to work. It is at this point, therefore, that a beginning of the solution to the problem must be made. But it is just at this point that the problem seems to present its major resistance. In a study made of thirty-five cities in 1923, it appears that in 21 cities the number of children obtaining permits to go to work was increasing. Only 14 of the thirty-five cities reported a decrease in the number of permits applied for. New Jersey cities reported an increase in 1922 ranging from 38.2 to 55.7 per cent over 1921.²⁰

NATURE AND DIRECTION OF CHILD LABOR REFORM

The various states have varied widely in their provisions for child protection and educational requirements. This fact led to attempts to secure federal legislation for the protection of children in industry. While Congress responded to the demands for such legislation on two occasions, both attempts at this solution failed because the courts declared them outside the province of federal jurisdiction. The matter now rests wholly with the states. A number of the states have provisions which exact a higher standard than was exacted by the last federal law, and it must be admitted that the other states are more actively interested in raising their standards than they were before the federal laws were passed.

The following minimum standards were adopted by a conference on child welfare held in Washington under the auspices of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, May, 1919:

Age minimum:

An age minimum of 16 for employment in any occupation except that children between 14 and 16 may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods until schools are continuous through the year.

An age minimum of 18 for employment in and about mines and quarries.

²⁰ *Monthly Labor Review*, September, 1923, Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, Washington.

An age minimum of 21 for girls employed as messengers for telegraph and messenger companies.

An age minimum of 21 for employment in the special-delivery service of the United States Post Office Department.

Prohibition of the employment of minors in dangerous, unhealthy, or hazardous occupations or at any work which will retard their proper physical or moral development.

Educational minimum:

All children between 7 and 16 years of age shall be required to attend school for at least nine months each year.

Children between 16 and 18 years of age who have completed the eighth, but not the high-school grade and are legally and regularly employed shall be required to attend day continuation schools at least eight hours a week.

Children between 16 and 18 who have not completed the eighth grade or children who have completed the eighth grade and are not regularly employed shall attend full-time school. Occupational training especially adapted to their needs shall be provided for those children who are unable because of mental subnormality to profit by ordinary school instruction.

Vacation schools placing special emphasis on healthful play and leisure time activities shall be provided for all children.

Physical minimum:

A child shall not be allowed to go to work until he has had a physical examination by a public-school physician or other medical officer especially appointed for that purpose by the agency charged with the enforcement of the law, and has been found to be of normal development for a child of his age and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed.

There shall be annual physical examinations of all working children who are under 18 years of age.

Hours of employment:

No minor shall be employed more than 8 hours a day or 44 hours a week. The maximum working day for children between 16 and 18 shall be shorter than the legal working day for adults.

The hours spent at continuation schools by children under 18 years of age shall be counted as part of the working day.

Night work for minors shall be prohibited between 6 p. m. and 7 a. m.

Minimum wage:

Minors at work shall be paid at a rate of wages which for full-time work shall yield not less than the minimum essential for the "necessary cost of proper living, as determined by a minimum wage commission or other similar official board." During a period of learning they may be rated as learners and paid accordingly. The length of the learning period should be fixed by such commission or other similar official board, on educational principles only.

Placement and employment supervision:

There shall be a central agency which shall deal with all juvenile employment problems. Adequate provision shall be made for advising children when they leave school of the employment opportunities open to them, for assisting

them in finding suitable work, and providing for them such supervision as may be needed during the first few years of their employment. All agencies working toward these ends shall be coördinated through the central agency.

ADMINISTRATION

Employment certificates:

Provision shall be made for issuing employment certificates to all children entering employment who are under 18 years of age.

An employment certificate shall not be issued to the child until the issuing officer has received, approved, and filed the following:

1. A birth certificate, or, if unobtainable, other reliable documentary proof of the child's age.

2. Satisfactory evidence that the child has completed the eighth grade.

3. A certificate of physical fitness signed by a public-school physician or other medical officer especially appointed for that purpose by the agency charged with the enforcement of the law.

This certificate shall state that the minor has been thoroughly examined by the physician and that he is physically qualified for the employment contemplated.

4. Promise of employment.

The certificate shall be issued to the employer and shall be returned by the employer to the issuing officer when the child leaves his employment.

The school last attended, the compulsory-education department, and the continuation school shall be kept informed by the issuing officers of certificates issued or refused and of unemployed children for whom certificates have been issued.

Minors over 18 years of age shall be required to present evidence of age before being permitted to work in occupations in which the entrance ages or hours are especially regulated.

Record forms shall be standardized and the issuing of employment certificates shall be under State supervision.

Reports shall be made to the factory inspection department of all certificates issued and refused.

Compulsory-attendance laws:

Full-time attendance officers adequately proportioned to the school population shall be provided in cities, towns, and counties to enforce the school-attendance law.

The enforcement of school-attendance laws by city, town, or county school authorities shall be under State supervision.

Factory inspection and physical examination of employed minors:

Inspection for the enforcement of all child-labor laws, including those regulating the employment of children in mines or quarries, shall be under one and the same department. The number of inspectors shall be sufficient to insure semiannual inspections of all establishments in which children are employed, and such special inspections and investigations as are necessary to insure the protection of the children.

Provision should be made for a staff of physicians adequate to examine annually all employed children under 18 years of age.²¹

While many of the "backward" states have recently taken steps to qualify under these minimum standards, there is by no means uniformity in either the laws or the administration of the laws among the states. As yet efforts to regulate the employment of children in agricultural occupations depends almost wholly on the efficiency with which compulsory school attendance laws are enforced. Even in this point there is wide variation among the states. Eleven states require completion of the eighth grade for issuance of regular employment certificates, but five of these states make exceptions of agricultural work. Nineteen states have practically no educational requirement for children entering factory employment. In all except four states, fourteen years of age is nominally fixed as the minimum for children going to work in factories and stores—one of these four, Mississippi, places 12 years as the minimum for boys and 14 as the minimum for girls working in the cotton mills.²²

Thirty-four states prohibit night work for children up to 16 years of age in factories and stores. The eight-hour day is recognized by thirty-one states, and in twenty-seven states this applies to children up to sixteen years of age.

In some states, as in Wisconsin, the regulation of employment of children is closely related to their schooling. With the coming in of vocational schools and the development of an apprenticeship system under the supervision of the state, there is a closer relationship being developed between work and school. The state is watching with more zeal the present and future welfare of its children. In Wisconsin the minimum wage law applies to children, as well as to women workers. While this has made employment of children sometimes too difficult, it has on the whole taken the profits out of child labor and encouraged better education and training.²³

AGENCIES CONCERNED WITH THE BETTERING OF WORKING CONDITIONS FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The movement for bettering the working conditions of women and children is being pushed forward with increasing earnestness from many different fronts—public and private.

²¹ *Child Labor in the United States*, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, 1923.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²³ See *Wisconsin Statutes, 1925*, Chs. 103 and 104 for laws pertaining to employment of children.

In the early stage of reforms in these fields too much stress was put on the sentimental platitudes of "equal rights" and "social justice." Happily this stage is over, and in its place are the sober, scientific studies of *cause* and *effect*. Practically all the agencies—and there are scores of them—are digging for facts as guides to their efforts to safeguard the health and welfare of women and child workers.

Among the leading agencies promoting research and encouraging improved legislation and better industrial relationships, are the Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Working along with these Bureaus are the Labor Departments and Industrial Commissions of the states. Among the private agencies working in this field must be mentioned the National Consumers' League, The National Child Labor Committee, the National League of Women Voters, the National Trade Union League, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Parent-Teacher's Association, the Child Welfare League of America, and many other child welfare organizations. Not the least of the forces which has far-reaching influence is the work being done by the League of Nations, through its International Labor Office.²⁴

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- ²⁴ Hoopingarner, D. L., *Labor Relations and Industry*, New York, 1925, Ch. XXVII.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Is the married woman, who stays at home and cares for her family, as much of an economic asset as was her grandmother? Explain.
2. What is the present-day attitude towards the employment of women outside the home? How does this attitude affect the wage which she receives for her work? Compare the wages of men and women for the same classes of work.
3. What adjustments are generally necessary in order to employ women and children in machine industry? What effect do these adjustments have on the health of the workers?
4. What is the extent of the employment of women in gainful occupations? Is the trend in the direction of increase or decrease of gainful employment of women? Compare the proportion of women in industry for each of the census years since 1880? How do you account for the seeming decrease from 1910 to 1920?
5. What occupations are women entering in the greatest numbers? What relation does their gainful employment bear to the work which women have traditionally had to do?
6. Compare the ages of women and men who are gainfully employed. How do you account for the difference?
7. Which presents the greater problem for child labor, the employment of boys or the employment of girls? Why?
8. What proportion of the women who are gainfully employed are married? What proportion of them go to work in order to supplement the family budget? Explain.
9. Enumerate the chief hazards which grow out of married women seeking employment outside the home?
10. What is meant by "sweated" industries? What bearing do they have upon the problems of women and children in industry? What trades provide most of the "sweated" employment?
11. Why is it that women are more difficult to organize into effective trade unions than are men?
12. What have been the chief means for improving the working conditions of women? Indicate the three major fields of public action directed toward the improvement of working conditions for women.
13. What is the extent of child labor in the United States as indicated by the 1920 Census? Do you regard this figure as a fair index of the extent of the problem? Why?

PART IV

PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIZATION

CHAPTER 22

SOCIAL EDUCATION

How to mold the growing child into the patterns of conduct approved by the group has always been a problem. Even savage peoples devised various methods for accomplishing this purpose. Among the methods practiced by these societies have been: (a) story-telling; (b) taboos and family guidance; (c) the pressure on community opinion by the elders; (d) initiation rites.

EDUCATION IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

The folklore of primitive peoples is one of their educational assets. Here are to be found explanations of the physical universe, hero tales of great leaders, mythical and real, in which are exemplified the ideals of the group and which from the manner of telling impress the emotions of the youthful listener. One has but to look over the early literature of many peoples to see the importance of this type of story in the folklore. The tales of the heroes to be found in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, reveal the ideals and patterns of action held by the Greeks of that day, and abound in stories which were used for the inculcation of such ideals and actions in Greek youth. The stories found in the early books of the Old Testament are largely hero tales of the early Hebrews. How the blood of Hebrew youths must have leapt at the story of Samson in his lone-handed fight with the Philistines! How they must have chuckled, as about the fireside or on great occasions in the life of the group, the story of Jacob with his dependence upon God, with his sly cheating of Esau out of his birthright, and his clever manipulation of affairs to overreach his father-in-law, Laban, were told with all the art of the story-teller! The folklore of our American Indians provides many stories of similar import.

Doubtless the injunctions of parents have had their effect from time immemorial. Conversation then, as now, between father and child, or mother and child, help to form the ideals of the latter. Perhaps even more effective were the taboos imposed by the elders for the guidance of growing youths. Many of these survive in our superstitions of the present day. The taboo widespread among primitive peoples against eating the sacred

animal is an illustration. However it arose, it doubtless had a very great effect upon the sensitive mind of the child and youth. The taboo against women approaching the men's house, against revealing the secrets of the men's secret society to the women, forbidding the man to see the face of his mother-in-law, the ban upon doing things in any other way than that which had come down by tradition from the past, are all illustrations of educational measures of enormous effect upon the conduct of youth.

The pressure of community opinion as expressed through the elders was an institution of tremendous power in the education of children and youth. In primitive society these had much greater influence than even in our civilized society. The young and inexperienced always stand in awe of the dogmatism of age. On the lips of the elders were the proverbs and slogans which exercised such subtle power upon the minds and conduct of young people.¹

Many savages and barbarians have rites of initiation for their boys and girls at adolescence. These initiatory rites are really forms of education. With them as with us the consuming desire of children is to become men and women. These rites are surrounded with an atmosphere of secrecy and solemnity which give them great power. The nature of the rites was jealously guarded from general knowledge and in them certain mysterious things were revealed to the initiate. Among the Australian aborigines the ceremonies consist of very elaborate preparations, instructions by selected guardians who accompany the boys, an impressive series of dramas during the initiation exercises, and the undergoing of severe physical pain for the purpose of testing the self-control of the lad. Concerning the purpose of these ceremonies Mr. Howitt says:

"The intention of the ceremonies is evidently to make the youths of the tribe worthy members of the community, according to their lights. Certain principles are impressed upon them for their guidance through life—for instance, to listen to and obey the old men; to generously share the fruits of the chase with others, especially with their kindred; not to interfere with the women of the tribe, particularly those who are related to them; not to injure their kindred, in its widest sense, by means of evil magic. Before the novice is permitted to take his place in the community, marry, and join in its councils, he must possess those qualifications which will enable him to act for the common welfare."²

¹ Lumley, F. E., *Means of Social Control*, New York, 1925; Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, New York, 1901; Thomas, W. I., ed., *Sourcebook for Social Origins*, Chicago, 1909, pp. 258-264; Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, Boston, 1907, p. 629. See also Index, "Taboo."

² Howitt in Thomas, W. I., ed., *Source Book for Social Origins*, Badger, Chicago, 1909, p. 231.

The educational function of this initiatory ceremony is indicated by Mr. Howitt in the following words:

"In the ceremonies mentioned, with few exceptions, there is a similar mode of assembling the meeting for initiation, the making of a circular earthen mound, the removal of the boys from their mothers' control, the knocking out of the tooth, the investment in some tribes of the novice with a man's attire, the formation of a new camp by the women, and the showing of the boy to his mother, with the severance of her control over him by a formal act, and finally the period of probation under severe conditions. I have elsewhere referred to the belief inculcated as to the existence of a great supernatural anthropomorphic Being, by whom the ceremonies were first instituted, and who still communicates with mankind through the medicine-men, his servants."

The efficiency of these various methods of primitive societies in the education of children and youth is attested by all travelers who have observed them. The pressure of the established patterns of conduct and belief is so great that it is only the exceptional child or youth who does not habituate himself to these group ideals and patterns. He who refuses to conform is selected for death and thus disappears as a disturbing influence.

EDUCATION IN A COMPLEX SOCIETY

In civilized societies conditions are so much more complex that the old means of social control fail of their purpose. They do not suffice for our modern society. They are still used but not so effectively as in simple society. The home still serves as an educational institution, but less effectively than formerly. Group traditions still have some effect. Impressions are still made on ceremonial occasions of various kinds, yet everywhere the close adherence to group patterns is breaking down and variant forms of conduct appear. Business dishonesty grows apace in a changing social order; family ties are loosened; children are neglected; regard for the aged is less than in barbarian society.

Why do not the old agencies of education suffice in our day? By reason of the new inventions dealing with communication a society may now have millions where once it had only a few hundred people. These are scattered over wide areas. The uniformities of conduct once made possible by education in a limited group through a face-to-face method no longer suffice.

Moreover, the possible reactions to life, economic, political, social, are so much more numerous. Division of labor has entered in as never before. Functional classes have arisen which were rare in primitive society. In-

* Howitt in Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 232.

terests are organized in very much more definite groups over a much wider territory.

Moreover, the old methods of education no longer suffice because our society is no longer static. It is rapidly changing and new possible reactions must be evaluated at once. These new valuations are not the result of long continued inculcation. The changes come so quickly over so wide a territory that it is impossible to standardize the reactions and for the group to remain in control of them, approving some and effectually disapproving others.

Again, the educational methods of primitive societies no longer suffice because the personal relations on which so much of useful education in these societies rested, have been dissolved. In Australia, as in most other primitive societies, the close relationships were with blood relatives. Now, from the very earliest day, the child comes in contact with those outside his family and his kindred. The youth at sixteen or eighteen perhaps leaves the home to work in some factory or to attend some distant college. There the control of the kindred group relaxes and personal relationships with far different people grow up.

Furthermore, while the inherent urges of children are the same as in the primitive child and youth, the surroundings are different. In primitive societies these urges and impulses were constantly under an effective control. About him every moment were kindred who were closely observant of his conduct, ready to bring effective pressure against any variation. The patterns of conduct presented to him were those upon which there was agreement by the whole group. To-day the youth who leaves his home, whether for business or for education, finds presented to him a varied assortment of patterns. Thousands of them surround him from which he may choose. Hence the inhibitions which guarded primitive childhood and youth are largely loosed. Hence appear the incorrigibility, disorderly conduct, truancy, and delinquency which mark the childhood and youth of our present day.

THE PURPOSES OF MODERN EDUCATION

From the social point of view, the purposes of modern education are the same as those of primitive society. The old men among the primitive aborigines of Australia spend so much time and effort in initiating the youth into manhood and womanhood in order that the youth may become thoroughly assimilated and serve the purposes of the group. The main purpose of modern education, including all the rest by implication, is to help the young to adapt himself to the circumstances of life in such a way as

will enable him to bring the world of things and of men to his service, and to enable him to contribute better adjustments in social relationships.

Physical and Health Education. Health is a social concern because upon the proper functioning of the body depends the usefulness of the future citizen. Consequently our schools try to pass on to the child and the youth the knowledge which it has achieved of the functioning of the body, methods of preserving health, and the adjustments necessary to promote effective physical efficiency. Habits and attitudes are inculcated in the effort to attain these purposes. We try to train the child to develop his body and mind so as to make them function best in the work of life.

Understanding the Universe. It is possible for the child of to-day to know more about the nature of the universe than the wisest man of two thousand years ago. Within the last hundred years there has been greater extension of knowledge concerning the world in which we live than ever before in the experience of the human race. We also believe that it is important for the citizen of to-day to know something about this world in the midst of which he lives. All of our applied science, our machinery, our control over nature, is based upon such knowledge. Moreover, the happiness of the individual himself, his freedom from fear, his ability to control the forces of nature, his sense of order, depend upon furnishing him with the knowledge which modern science has brought to us. Only by understanding this universe of things can he have answered the deep questions which arise to plague him, and only by such understanding can he make use of them most efficiently for his own and for his fellow's needs. The record of all these achievements modern education attempts to hand over to the child and the youth.

Understanding Society. Modern education endeavors to give to the child and youth our recent acquisitions of knowledge concerning the world of men and their institutions. The history of the past, and our knowledge of pre-history, give us a picture of how man has dealt with his situation in the world during the last thirty millennia. Never before has he needed so much to know the history of man's institutions, of his ideals, and the fundamental principles upon which social welfare is based: the ways in which groups act and react towards each other. Social relationships are so complex to-day that unless the youth understands something of their nature and the conditions on which society depends, he cannot be adjudged a good citizen. The possibilities of friction are so much multiplied and the number of men and groups with which he must deal are so much more numerous than ever before, that as much knowledge as we possess of the social relationships which exist in the world must be a part of his equip-

ment. How shall he judge of the value of the family to-day unless he knows something of its past? How shall he judge of our business relationships unless he understands how they operate and how they have come to be what they are? How shall he prevent the international frictions and disagreements which lead to war unless he understands how they develop and some of the processes by which misunderstandings can be obviated? Hence, education tries to hand on as much of our social knowledge as possible so that the youth may know how to adjust himself to the world of society with the least possible friction and with the greatest efficiency.

Social Values. Modern education also endeavors to present to the developing mind of the child and youth certain social values. In the midst of our complex civilization, exposed to all kinds of different ideals and patterns of behavior, modern youth certainly needs a scale of social values scientifically established. Only as he knows how to value these various patterns of behavior and modes of conduct will he have a clear conception of his duties and obligations in social life. Such ideals as honor, honesty, loyalty, concern for the general welfare, regard for country rather than for self, and many others the school endeavors to inculcate, all too often with little success in the face of the ideals and patterns in vogue among so-called "successful" men and women in the everyday world.

Social Usefulness. Modern education purposes to enable the youth to be free to develop and to contribute his best to his day and generation; free to develop his innate potentialities; free from the fears which have enthralled men through the ages; free to contribute the utmost possible to his family, to his community, and to his state.

Self-Support. Finally since the family has been superseded as the institution to train people to make a living, and since the shop has given way to the factory, it seems to be incumbent upon the school to prepare its students to be economically useful so that they may support themselves. This purpose, however, has not been everywhere recognized and is realized only in part even now. The movement for vocational schools and vocational guidance is a recognition of this purpose in modern education.

In short, upon the modern school there has devolved such a burden of responsibility as sometimes makes it seem an impossible one. In fact, it is impossible unless every other institution of society coöperates with the school in this great task in our modern civilization.

SOME SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF MODERN EDUCATION

Naturally the modern school system does not function perfectly. It is as new as our modern industrial civilization. Invented less than a hun-

dred years ago, it is not surprising if it has not been perfectly adapted to our rapidly changing situation. What is said about its problems is in no sense a criticism of the army of devoted men and women who are administering it and are no less concerned with its problems than the sociologist. All of us have a stake in it since it is such an important social institution, and every one of us should thoughtfully consider these problems in the hope that together we may more perfectly adjust it to the needs of our children and youth.

School Mortality. Is it not a significant fact that so many of those who enter the first grade of our elementary schools drop out before they have finished high school? If we assume that the school serves a socially useful purpose, then the dropping out is a social calamity. If it is not a social calamity, then the question arises as to whether the school is socially useful. Is it desirable that all children who enter our elementary schools should proceed through high school? If not, what measures are we taking to supplement our elementary schools in the attempt to assist our children to prepare for life? Most of our children at the time they finish the elementary grades are not old enough to go to work. It would seem, therefore, that between the elementary grades and the taking-up of a job, some institution is necessary to continue their education.

The report of the United States Bureau of Education presents the attendance situation in 1920:⁴

While only 9.4 per cent of the children 7 to 13 years of age were not in school, of those 16 and 17 years of age, 57.1 per cent were not in school. Between the ages of 7 and 13 years, 92.3 per cent of the children of native white parents were in school, 94.1 per cent of the children of foreign, or mixed parentage, 84.1 per cent of the children of foreign-born parents, and 76.5 per cent of negro children. For the ages 16 to 17 these percentages have dropped to 48.7, 34.5, 23.5, and 39.2 respectively.

In this connection the percentage of illiteracy in the United States is of interest. In the United States 6 per cent of all classes ten years of age and over were illiterate. However, of those with native parents only 2.5 per cent were illiterate. Of the foreign-born whites 13.1 per cent were illiterate, and of the negroes, 22.9 per cent. It is interesting to note, however, that of the population between 10 and 15 years of age, only 2.3 per cent were illiterate in 1920, while in 1910, 4.1 per cent were illiterate. Evidently in the younger generation we are making some advance. However, it is not mere illiteracy as we have seen above that counts. We are no longer satisfied with the school which merely enables people to read

⁴ *World Almanac*, 1927, p. 400.

and write. As we have seen, upon the school of the present day has devolved many greater responsibilities than that. What shall we say of the drop from 90.6 per cent attendance of the children of the ages 7 to 13 to 42.9 per cent of those of age 16 and 17? Between those ages a total of more than 12,000,000 children dropped out of our schools in 1920.

Why Children Quit School. The question arises, why do so many quit school in the early years of adolescence? The United States Bureau of Education gives us no information as to why children throughout the United States leave school. However, the Iowa Bureau of Labor made a report of an investigation in the spring of 1925 of why children in industry attending part-time schools quit school to go to work. Under the Iowa law children between 14 and 16 who leave the full-time school must attend part-time or continuation school for at least eight hours a week until they are sixteen. The investigation covered 385 children in twelve cities—all the children who were found in attendance on the day the survey was made. Table 37 shows the reason assigned by these children for leaving the full-time school:

TABLE 37
REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL *

	Boys		Girls	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Disliked school; studies too difficult; behind in work	106	60.6	84	40.0
Economic reasons: parents dead; father out of work; large family	46	26.3	50	23.8
To help in the home	4	2.3	39	18.6
Illness on part of child	11	6.3	28	13.3
Moving from school district	8	4.6	9	4.3
Total	175	100.0	210	100.0

* *Monthly Labor Review*, United States Department of Labor, Washington, January, 1927, p. 127.

Case studies show that there are other reasons why children drop out of school than those given in this table.

Feeling of Inferiority and Failure. Says Dr. Jessie Taft:

"If the case problems presented to me by child-caring agencies in Philadelphia during the past year and a half are any criterion, the crucial situation in all children's work is lack of suitable school opportunities for the dull-normal child. In Philadelphia, at least, and I am sure in the vast majority of city public schools still running along conventional academic lines, there is no possibility of obtaining for the dull-normal child, who has become a behavior

problem because of his sense of inferiority and failure, the treatment that will touch his case—a school program suited to his abilities. He is not allowed by law to leave the public school when it gets beyond him, yet to face failure, ridicule, reprimands, day after day, is something that human nature cannot do without efforts to escape from so unbearable a situation. The child will either run away in body or in spirit. He is bound to gain a sense of importance somehow—if not by good conduct, by bad. He will take refuge in sullenness, indifference, or in more active, aggressive attempts to counteract the boredom and inferiority of his position. If he cannot shine in school, he can perhaps become the terror of the neighborhood. There is only one possible treatment for this type of child, and that is to offer him legitimate avenues of successful expression. If school or work offers him a chance to act successfully, he will seek social approval, just as he apparently sought social disapproval before. All you need to do to prove this statement is to put such a child into a school that gives him work in which he can succeed. He becomes the simplest of case problems. His energy goes over into useful activity and drains off from the unsocial channels. Often he is a new child in so short a time that the change seems almost magical. Let the dull-normal child use his hands first and his intellect second, put him with his peers and not his superiors, and in the majority of cases he will cease to be a problem.”⁶

There are many different reasons for this feeling of inferiority and confirmed sense of failure which explain the child's failure in school. Some of these reasons may be directly traced to the fault of the teachers or to the school administration. Too often efforts of the school are thwarted by ignorant, indifferent or even greedy parents—parents who view the child's present earning power with more concern than his future success in meeting the problems of living. Often, too, parents and teachers fail to understand the child and make bad matters worse by scolding, shaming, and ridiculing him. In other cases ill health, defective vision, bad teeth, and many other noticed or unnoticed physical defects prevent the child from putting his best efforts and spirits into his school work and he gets discouraged and falls behind, finally quitting school at his first opportunity. We have already noted that the home no longer affords employment for the members of the family, and there are many attractive opportunities for earning spending money, many outside attractions pull and tug at the child's interests. Getting in the habit of thinking and following these outside interests absorbs his time and attention from his school work, and he gets out of step with his class, gets dissatisfied and marks time until he can quit school. Almost every child who drops out of school offers a unique combination of reasons, and most of these reasons can be removed if properly studied and thoughtfully considered.

⁶ Taft, Dr. Jessie, *The Problem Child in the School*, Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1925, pp. 69-70.

Adolescence itself brings into action impulses and ideals which often result in the loss of interest in school. Unless someone can make the adjustment for these young flappers and flapper-chasers, the biological urge may prevail.

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH SPECIAL CLASSES

In the begining our educational system proceeded on the theory that every child must be given the same education. That seemed to be inherent in our theory of democracy. Longer experience, however, with children has shown us that education must be adapted, so far as possible, to the particular situation of each child. For example, there is the crippled child, the child who cannot hope to go on to high school and college, the mentally deficient child, the superior child, and there is the whole class of adults whose education has not been finished.

The Crippled Child. The education of the crippled child presents many difficulties. Fortunately, a number of our states are now making provisions whereby these children can have the best medical and surgical care which modern science affords. However, their school life is bound to be interrupted unless care is taken. After even the best has been done that science knows, perhaps some physical disability will still remain. His crippled condition may have induced a kind of self-pity which unfits him to take his place in the rough-and-tumble world of school life. His crippled condition may have so far set him back that he has become discouraged, or his disability may have made him conspicuous and the object of rough jokes by other children. Modern educators, however, have not forgotten the crippled child and many of our city school systems have made special provision for them. Special busses may gather them up and take them to the schoolroom; equipment suited to their crippled condition is often provided; special teachers are employed in some places who give special attention to these students so that they may catch up what has been lost. If means are provided whereby the child can compensate for the disabilities which he suffers, many times his social development will go on quite as steadily and as hopefully as that of the normal child.

The Mental Defective. A problem is presented by the mentally dull or mentally deficient child. It is important that special attention be given to these children in the schools. Special classes or special rooms where the work is adapted to their deficiencies are experiments in the attempt to keep them in school as long as they can profit from it, and relieve them from the results of competition with brighter children. The opportunity room is proving to be the salvation of many of these children who in

former days became thoroughly discouraged and dropped out, or became delinquent. With them the training must be as individualized as possible, to make use of whatever abilities they may have for the practical purposes of life, and for the enrichment of their own personality.

The Superior Child. The superior student often gives grave difficulty in the school if there is a rigid system of promotion, or if he is held back by the poorer pupils in the class. Experiments are being tried nowadays to require more of these superior students and to advance them more rapidly. The following story of Billy illustrates one such case and also throws some light on the physically disabled child, although in this case it is disability produced by wrong feeding and improper care—matters which social education is to-day attempting to eradicate along with illiteracy:

"Nobody at school so much as suspected that seven-year-old Billy Mitchel was equipped with a better mind than the average boy. His room teacher, when she asked the visiting teacher to take him in hand, dwelt upon his poor work, his lack of interest, his slowness, his laziness.

"Miss Gordon in her first interview with the child was impressed by his sensitive and intelligent face, his attractive personality, and his good manners. He talked well. She also noted that he was pale and 'delicate' looking. He professed only a moderate interest in school. At home, he said he was compelled to get his lessons before he was permitted to play. His family had just moved to a house on the outskirts of town, and he talked freely of this new home. His father was an expert machinist.

"Miss Gordon's next move was to look up Billy's school record. This showed that the boy's brief school life had been much interrupted by the frequent movings of his family. In the second grade he had done hardly more than passing work, and was now in the duller division of the lower third, doing no better.

"One striking item of the youngster's record, however, stood out. In a group intelligence test of the preceding fall he had received an exceptionally high rating—a rating equaled by less than one per cent of school children all over the country who have taken such tests. The significance of this fact had apparently been overlooked by the school. The test once made, the papers had been bundled up and stored away on an upper shelf. Miss Gordon arranged with a visiting psychologist for an individual examination of the boy in the near future.

"Meanwhile she called at the Mitchel home—a neat, well-furnished little bungalow facing a range of wooded hills. Billy's parents proved to be intelligent and attractive young people who were concerned about their only son and talked frankly of the problem he presented. The facts brought out in this interview regarding the family background, the child's earlier history and his characteristics, helped to an understanding of his difficulties and needs.

"First, he had never been strong and suffered from numerous illnesses. Kidney trouble had been the most persistent of these. For two or three years

past he had been subject to attacks of appendicitis; he had not yet been operated upon. He also took cold very easily and suffered from bronchitis. Two abscesses had necessitated the removal of teeth. Mr. and Mrs. Mitchel had been desirous for some time of consulting a specialist in children's diseases, but had not known to whom they should go. A doctor to whom they took the boy recently merely prescribed one of the familiar old-fashioned remedies and they had become discouraged. There seemed little reason to doubt that this physical record accounted largely for the child's lack of energy and of interest in his work.

"There were other factors entering into the situation, however, some of which antedated Billy's own birth. His mother had been an only child and had been kept apart from other children. She had married when very young—an utterly inexperienced girl with, as she frankly stated, no notion of how a child should be reared. She was inclined to be nervous and acknowledged that at times she was impatient. To a great extent she had repeated with Billy the errors made in her own up-bringing, dressing him in white and keeping him by himself for an unduly long period. Moreover, until lately the family had lived in apartment houses where children were few and play space entirely lacking. As a consequence the boy shrank from other children and did not know how to enter into the usual childish games. The recent move to this outlying district had been made for his benefit, and he had already been all over the neighboring hills. But there were no boys of his own age near by. He had been seeing a good deal of some little girl neighbors whose society he seemed to prefer to that of the bigger boys. He was so old in his manner and conversation that the friends of the family had given him the nickname of 'Grandpa.' One of these friends was accustomed to take him to call on her father; the old gentleman particularly enjoyed the youngster's mature style of conversation.

"In view of this evident maturity the boy's parents had been at a loss to account for his poor school work and had felt much disappointment because of it. They had tried to force his interest, insisting that he stick to his books in the evening until he had his lessons. It was characteristic of him, they said, to sit with his head on his hand paying little attention to the work before him. Yet he was apparently not sleepy, for if they sent him to bed he would lie awake and call to them from the bedroom. For this reason they had got into the habit of letting him sit up as long as they did.

"Miss Gordon also discussed the child's diet with his mother and found that it was far from well balanced.

"So friendly and open-minded was the attitude of Billy's parents that it was possible on this first visit to offer advice on certain points. Suggestions regarding more wholesome diet were made. The curtailment of study hours and the encouragement of out-door play were urged, together with the establishment of an earlier bed hour. Help in finding a child specialist who would make a thorough physical examination was promised.

"Within a few days this talk was followed up: Billy was given two books, the 'Health Alphabet' for himself and a publication of the American Child Health Association for his mother. The school nurse was consulted regarding physicians specializing in child health and the name of a man recommended

by her was sent to Mrs. Mitchel, who promptly took Billy to see him, and at once began to follow the diet recommended with the aim of correcting the boy's kidney trouble.

"In the individual psychological testing given Billy soon afterwards the findings of the earlier group test were confirmed. The boy's mental age was two and one-half years beyond his chronological age, so that according to accepted standards in this field he was to be rated as a definitely superior child. The examiner believed that his poor school work was due to a difficulty with reading, and this in turn she traced to the fact that his mother had tried to help him at home, using a different system from that taught in the school, and so confusing him.

"The results of the testing, together with this explanation, were passed on to Mrs. Mitchel when she called at the school a day or two later. It was recommended that some expert tutoring in reading be given the boy, the visiting teacher offering to arrange for it. The mother would very willingly have accepted this offer, but Mr. Mitchel had been out of work and they felt unable to afford it. Unfortunately no one who could be called upon for free tutoring was available.

"On all points except this of tutoring the coöperation of the home was excellent. From both Billy and his mother came reports that he was keeping early hours. Only on Saturday nights, when he accompanied his parents down town, did he stay up late; and he declared to the visiting teacher that on these occasions he grew so sleepy that he would rather stay at home and go to bed. He began to look decidedly better, had more color in his cheeks and showed more 'pep' on the playground. In the classroom his increased energy displayed itself mainly in an access of mischievousness, but fortunately his teacher proved herself able to see in this, as contrasted with his former apathy, a distinctly encouraging sign. A slight improvement in his work also took place. After considerable reluctance he had been persuaded to enter into a May-Day celebration with his class, and later he quite readily took part in a Sunday school program and a music festival. He showed lively interest and enthusiasm in reporting his various doings. At last accounts he was rejoicing in the possession of two dogs, a fox-terrier and a pup of unknown antecedents, and was finding them the best of pals. His general enthusiasm for living had manifestly greatly increased.

* * *

"Obviously the change in Billy's regime has been in effect too short a time for us to judge how it will affect his scholarship and general development. To make a real boy of him instead of a little old man seems the first step, and the visiting teacher's interest in improving his scholarship is secondary to that of having him become a vigorous, socially active little human unit. Happily this primary aim seems on the way to attainment. Once it is reached, ways and means of leading him to make better use of his unusual mental powers may well be the visiting teacher's next task.

"Billy's situation is of interest both in its more or less typical only-child aspects and as an instance of the way in which superior intelligence may be rendered quite ineffective for practical purposes by ill-health or by faulty training. A situation in which a child so gifted is doing less than average

work always calls for careful analysis. We can't afford to neglect any of that small minority of children in each generation who give evidence of exceptional ability."^{*}

Says Dr. Wile concerning the superior child:

"The superior child is a potential asset to the community. Is it not, then, to the community's best interest to develop him to the point of fullest self-expression and greatest service? While no prediction can be made as to the part an individual superior child may play in the guidance of his generation, it is undoubtedly true that these children, as a group, will provide nearly all of the leaders in art and science, in the professions, and those who, by creating new ideas and ideals, must contribute to the progress of civilization. Such children are too few for the school system to neglect them. The time-marking system for these bright, capable, natural students is mentally harmful and, viewed socially, is responsible for a far greater loss to the community than can ever be atoned for by attempts to raise the mental achievements of children of inherently inferior mental powers. School progress is checked and mental growth retarded, with disastrous results to themselves and to the community when these vigorous minds are permitted to remain idle or to work at half speed. Most careful thought should be spent upon the needs of the superior child, for by modification and adjustment of the curriculum it is possible to weave an educational program more in harmony with his mental pattern."[†]

Adult Education. Finally, there is the problem of the education of adults who as children have been denied the opportunities of the school system. How frequently it happens that because of economic needs or because of dissatisfaction with the schools, the boy or girl leaves as soon as possible and takes a job. After the stress and strain of adolescence have passed, they sometimes awaken to the need of further education. They realize what they have missed and with proper encouragement they are ready to make sacrifices in order that this lack of education may be made up. The exploitation of this consciousness of need has made rich the numerous correspondence schools in the United States, and accounts for the great success of the university extension divisions in this country. For the most part, these courses are of practical or vocational value. Life's experiences have made the student keenly appreciative of the necessity of such courses. However ill taught and poorly organized, doubtless they have provided in a way an answer to the deep need felt by many of these people for whom the school system has not adequately given them preparation for life. The vocational school movement in some of our states and the promotion of industrial education by our National Vocational Education Board is doing something to meet the need for education with these

^{*} Sayles, M. B., *The Problem Child in School*, pp. 135-140.

[†] Wile, I. S., *The Challenge of Childhood*, Seltzer, New York, 1926, pp. 141, 142.

adults. Workingmen's colleges are springing up over the country in response to a feeling on the part of the Labor Unions that the universities and colleges have not presented to students their side of the economic situation.

Summary. Looking over the whole field of education from the standpoint of social welfare it is apparent that we have many problems yet to solve before our educational system will anywhere adequately subserve the purposes pointed out in the beginning of this chapter. The school itself is not yet adapted to its purposes. Its proper functioning is constantly interfered with by the business world, the families from which the children come, and neighborhood conditions. Every study of problem children in school shows clearly that the homes from which the children come often inadequately prepare them to receive the greatest benefits from the school. Parents do not coöperate with the school; they do not understand the home surroundings necessary to make the child's educational process a success. Industry and business go their way without considering what are the effects, direct and indirect, of their methods upon the development of childhood and youth. Few business men and industrial leaders have asked themselves how much they are responsible for the failure of the schools. If, however, the wages paid do not provide for a decent home, is not part of the failure in the production of citizenship due to business? Moreover, neighborhood conditions often catch in the throes of social degeneracy the growing boy and girl and destroy the effects of the educational process. We have not yet learned that one of the responsibilities of a city is to provide for proper use of the leisure time of boys and girls. Moreover, age is partly responsible for the failure of childhood and youth. We older people fossilize; we fail to remember the feelings of childhood and youth; we become harsh, repressive, unsympathetic with the youth and his house of dreams.

Finally, the school itself must shoulder part of the responsibility for its failure. The very fact that it is a system, more or less inelastic, attempting to train great masses of children and young people, and that among its teaching body is too large a number of those who are inadequately prepared to deal with the problems of childhood and youth in a constructive manner, shows that it cannot shift its responsibility entirely to family, neighborhood and business.

Says Dorsey: "If America is a nation of morons, then that is the answer to the attractiveness of the intellectual feast our American system spreads; it is not a test of the American's ability to learn."⁸

⁸ Dorsey, G. A., *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, New York, 1926, p. 46a.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What kind of conduct do you think the story of David and Goliath inspired in the Hebrew youths who heard it? (I *Samuel* XVII: 32-58.) The story of David and Jonathan? (I *Samuel* XIX and XX.)
2. Read the story of the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles in Homer's *Iliad*; then state in your own words why you think that it had educational value for the youthful Greeks of Homer's day?
3. Are the hero tales of these ancient peoples always suited to the educational purposes of our times? Why?
4. Can you trace to any stories told or read to you, or read by you in childhood and youth any of your social ideals and social attitudes?
5. Can you cite from your own experience any teachers and any subjects in school which were injurious to your social development? Any which affected your social conduct favorably?
6. Outline the chief things needed in a school program adapted to produce good citizens.
7. Outline a program for the promotion of adult education which you think your community needs. What agencies would you interest in carrying forward this program?

CHAPTER 23

PROBLEMS OF HEALTH AND DISEASE

Imagine a gigantic weighing scales constructed on the principle of a druggist's balance. Into the pan of one side pile in terms of dollars the value of all our natural resources in this country—mines, railroads, farms, live stock, timber, manufactured goods of all kinds, houses and their furnishings, factories, and all other items of our wealth. Into the other pan, measured in terms of dollars, pour the value of our 117,000,000 of people considered only as economic producers. How will the balance incline? At first thought most of us will say that the material assets of our country will greatly outweigh the economic value of our people. The fact, however, is the reverse. In 1891 Professor J. S. Nicholson estimated that in Great Britain the capitalized value of human labor was worth five times that of all her capital. It appears from the estimates of Irving Fisher and Mr. LeGrand Powers that the capitalized value of human life in the United States in 1909 was more than twice that of all the other resources of the nation.¹ Is it not apparent, then, that even from the strictly economic point of view national health is of the greatest importance?

However important good health is economically, that is not the whole story. Long ago a great Teacher assured us that "Life is more than meat and the body than raiment." As Irving Fisher has reminded us, life is not to be measured in dollars and cents, but in happiness, or the satisfactions and joys between birth and death, less the dissatisfactions. Long ago the question as to whether life is worth living was wittily answered by the remark that "it depends upon the liver." This saying, while having a double meaning, is true, and points out the importance of health in the enjoyment of life, for, whether the one who lives enjoys his life and finds it worth living depends upon the state of his health, with which the organ in the body known as the liver has much to do. In spite of the fact that sometimes unhealthy people are happy and healthy people are unhappy, it is generally acknowledged that health is the foundation of human happiness. Long ago it was pointed out that one of the most important causes

¹ Fisher, Irving, "National Vitality, Its Wastes and Conservation," in *Report of the National Conservation Commission, Senate Document, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2nd session, Washington, 1909, Vol. III, pp. 739-741.*

of human misery is ill health. A sound mind in a sound body has long been an ideal. Doubtless abounding health lies at the basis of human progress and the lack of it is one of the predisposing causes to national decay.²

Other things being equal, good health makes for physical efficiency, bodily comfort, a sense of well-being, and develops energy, alertness, and keenness. The relation of good health to social welfare is expressed by the Life Extension Institute as follows:

"There should be a keen sense of enjoyment of all life's activities. As William James once said, simply to live, breathe and move should be a delight. The thoroughly healthy person is full of optimism; 'he rejoiceth like a strong man to run a race.' We seldom see such overflowing vitality except among children. When middle life is reached, or before, our vital surplus has usually been squandered. Yet it is in this vital surplus that the secret of personal magnetism lies. Vital surplus should not only be safeguarded, but accumulated. It is the balance in the savings bank of life. Our health ideals must not stop at the avoidance of invalidism, but should aim at exuberant and exultant health. They should savor not of valetudinarianism, but of athletic development. Our aim should be not to see how much strain our strength can stand, but how great we can make that strength. With such an aim we shall, incidentally and naturally, find ourselves accomplishing more work than if we aimed directly at the work itself. Moreover, when such ideals are attained, work instead of turning into drudgery tends to turn into play, and the hue of life seems to turn from dull gray to the bright tints of well-remembered childhood. In short, our health ideals should rise from the mere wish to keep out of a sick bed to an eagerness to become a well-spring of energy. Only then can we realize the intrinsic wholesomeness and beauty of human life."³

THE SOCIAL WASTE OF DISEASE

Good health is a most important social asset but consider how we have squandered it. Wasteful as we are with all of our national resources, the waste of human life surpasses them all. Once we thought that sickness and death were a providence of God. Now we know better. While we all must die, many of us need not die so soon. Recent studies have shown that longevity, thanks to hygiene, has been increasing. In Europe the length of life has increased in 350 years from less than twenty to about forty years. In less than half a century in England life has lengthened five years. In a quarter of a century in Prussia it increased over six years. In Massachusetts the average length of life from 1893 to 1897 was 45 years, as compared with 40 in 1855.

Variability in Mortality Rates. Moreover, mortality varies in different countries. In 1909, in the registration area of the United States the death-

² Fisher, Irving, *op. cit.*, pp. 746-748.

³ Fisher, Irving, and Fisk, E. L., *How to Live*, Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1916, pp. 5, 6.

rate was 16.5 per 1000; in France it was 20; while in India it was 42. Even in the United States it varied from 14 in Michigan to 18 in New York. Furthermore, the death-rate varies between city and country, being higher in the city than in the country. The death-rate of the colored people greatly exceeds that of the whites; that of the poor surpasses that of the rich, as shown by the figures in Glasgow and Paris.

Death-rates have been decreasing during the last few centuries. In London, where in 1908 it was only 15 per thousand, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was between 40 and 50, while between 1680 and 1720, a period of epidemics, it rose as high as 80. In Havana, Cuba, the death-rate, following the American occupation, fell from over 50 to about 20.

The infant death-rate has shown a much greater reduction than the adult. However, much of the decrease in the death-rate during the last thirty years has occurred in those below the age of fifty.

Decrease in mortality rates varies with different diseases. The death-rate from tuberculosis in England is only one-third of what it was seventy years ago. The death-rate from typhoid fever has been decreasing very rapidly in recent years. Another disease which has shown a remarkable decrease in death-rates is smallpox. Between 1846 and 1870 in Prussia the death-rate per 100,000 from smallpox was 24. In 1874 vaccination was made compulsory, and as a consequence, the rate fell during 1875 to 1876 to 1.5. Another disease, the results of which have been remarkably curbed, is yellow fever. In 1793 during the epidemic of yellow fever in Philadelphia one-tenth of the city's population died within six and one-half weeks. Since the discovery that this disease is transmitted through the mosquito, it has practically disappeared in America.⁴

Every decrease in the death-rate means lengthening of life, the prevention of needless expense, greater economic usefulness, and the increase of human happiness. Health has been called a purchaseable product. That is, by spending money in the prevention of disease, we lengthen life and prevent misery.

Diseases Still Unconquered. Consider, however, in spite of all these advances in the prolongation of life, how we are still wasting the most precious asset we have. In 1908 it was estimated that there were about a million and a half deaths annually. According to Farr, the English statistician, for every death there is annual average sickness of two years. To

⁴Fisher, Irving, "Report on National Vitality," in *Report of the National Conservation Commission, Senate Document, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2nd session, Vol. III, pp. 624, 625.*

put it another way, for each death per year there are two persons sick throughout the year. This would mean that there are three million persons on the sick list all the time, or an average of about thirteen days of sickness per capita.⁵

In 1923 the number of deaths due to *accidental or undefined external causes* was 74,131, or 76.4 per 100,000 of estimated population in the registration area. Of these 14,411, or a rate of 14.9, the result of automobile accidents, constituted the largest group.⁶

In 1908 tuberculosis in all forms caused the greatest number of deaths of any disease. *In 1923 diseases of the heart stood first*, the tuberculosis rate having fallen and the rate from diseases of the heart having steadily risen. Other diseases which have increased are cerebral hemorrhage, cancer and other malignant tumors. Influenza and pneumonia following it have a very irregular graph. Deaths from that disease fluctuate more than from any other.⁷

That many of these diseases are preventable with our present knowledge is indicated by the fact that the campaign against tuberculosis has been followed by a decreasing death-rate from that cause. Infant mortality has decreased since the campaign against various infant diseases has been going on. Also the comparison between the general death-rates for whites and colored probably indicate that the conquest of disease is within man's control.

Of the death-rates of the various *colored races* in the United States the Japanese comes next higher than the whites, then the negro, and then the Indian, with the Chinese highest of all. Tuberculosis seems to be the principal cause of the comparatively high death-rate of the colored races, but it is accompanied by other diseases, such as cancer, and diseases of the circulatory system.⁸

The death-rate for children has decreased from 162.2 per 1000 of estimated population under one year of age in 1900 to 105.7 in 1920 in the registration states of 1900.⁹ It is natural that since we are cutting down such diseases as carry off infants and youth, there is an increase of deaths from such diseases as afflict middle age, and old age.

How Much Preventable? It is now known that we can prevent about 45 per cent of the deaths and save that proportion of the needless waste which sickness and early death involve. Doubtless the better sanitation

⁵ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

⁶ *Mortality Statistics: 1923*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1926, p. 71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

of our cities, the hygienic control of our water and food supplies, have had much to do with the lowering of death-rates from certain gastric diseases and from certain other diseases which are water-borne or food-borne. Much yet remains to be done, however, to make available for the preservation of human life the knowledge we have. Moreover, were all the knowledge available applied to the prevention of disease so far as we know, unless we change certain methods of living and of working, many people will yet needlessly die. Our statistics have not yet enabled us to discover how much of the sickness and ill health and death is due to over-fatigue in work. That much of it is so produced, however, is indicated by the fact that in England under sickness insurance much greater regularity in attendance upon industry has come about since the worker has had access to the physician without pay. That economic conditions are closely related to infant sickness and death is indicated by the studies of the Federal Children's Bureau in a number of our American cities. These studies showed that as the wage of the father increased, the infant mortality steadily decreased.

Summarizing the waste incident to our ill health and death we can probably say that in the neighborhood of two or two and a half billion dollars a year is the money measure of that waste, at least 45 per cent of which is preventable.

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF HEALTH AND DISEASE

Health is the great desideratum of life. Upon it depends the achievement and the happiness of men. The energy for creative enterprises depends upon it; the joy of existence is rooted in it; the inventiveness which perfects our civilization is closely related to it; the hope and ambition that drive us to service for our families and our communities have some vital relation to it. On the other hand, sickness and death bring in their train many important results. Poverty follows in their wake; crime breeds where sickness and death-rates are high; hopelessness and despair, laziness, broken homes, and frequently every other social ill follows in the train of sickness and death. Consider the following picture painted by a social worker of the consequences of health on the one hand and sickness and death on the other:

"We have been so greatly concerned in the past because the poor have not been able to enjoy the full fruits of what they create that we have not appreciated the perdition caused by the inability to experience the joy that comes from achievement. If it is poverty to lack some considerable part of the economic goods and services necessary for decent and wholesome life, it is

also poverty to be prevented from producing to full capacity one's share of the spiritual and economic goods and services which are the hope of the world.

"Into this Hell, sickness is continually driving humanity. It does so by robbing man of his most valuable asset, by depriving him of his vitality.

"What is a man without energy?" writes Mark Twain in one of his letters. 'Nothing—nothing at all. What is the grandest thing in Paradise Lost—the Archfiend's terrible energy! What is the greatest feature in Napoleon's character? His unconquerable energy. And today, if I were a heathen, I would rear a statue to energy and fall down and worship it!'

"Vitality, indeed, is the power that has made possible the great achievements of history. The great writers, the great artists, the great statesmen, the great business men have abounded in it. It is the men who have had vitality over and above that which they needed for the routine of life, who have outstripped their fellows in enriching the world.

"This physical essence of man is the object of sickness' every attack. Acute and chronic illness of the kind discussed thus far in this paper feed upon it. Of that we need no proof. More insidious, more subtle and more difficult to ascertain is the effect upon vitality of what, to borrow from the biologist, we might call *recessive* sickness, the sickness which only the diagnostician can recognize, which the patient himself overlooks, and which, if included in health surveys would bring the percentage of sickness in the general population far above the proportion of three in one hundred.

"This is the sickness that people do not consider important enough to justify consultation with a physician, the sickness that expresses itself in a fleeting pain, in an occasional ache, and which preying on vitality, results in an inability to think and act at the top of one's powers. This kind of illness is an almost universal experience; yet by reason of its very nature it is difficult to discover or to subject to statistical analysis. Social agencies learn about it usually only when the disease has reached the advanced stage in which definite and easily recognizable symptoms develop.

"An illustration of this is to be found in the experience of Antonio Cardeleo who for years has been an unsatisfactory sort of person. He was lackadaisical and without energy, a 'no account' fellow who seldom had employment and who frequently deserted his family. The cause of his depleted vitality and consequent unproductiveness was not discovered until he returned home from one of his periodic absences, suffering from a hemorrhage. A diagnosis of tuberculosis in an incipient stage was made. Three months elapsed before the sanatorium could admit him. During this time he was under the instruction of a dispensary, and when his turn to go away arrived he had made such progress in learning how to regulate his life and diet that it was possible for him to return to work. A job as a railroad switchman was secured for him. This position he has held ever since. He is buying his own home and has continued to live with his family. Obviously many things entered into making this man into a productive citizen, but among them, certainly, the restoration of his vitality played an important part.

"Even more elusive was the cause of Joseph Brown's inefficiency. He was described by one visitor as looking like a Greek God, having the sort of

physique which made people instinctively say of him—there's a man for the army. Nevertheless he was ineffective. The neighbors said he was lazy and so indeed he appeared to be. It was only when his condition became so serious that his power to grip things with his hands failed that tuberculosis of the spine was discovered. The disease has since been arrested sufficiently to enable him to work regularly.

"Again, the cause of the inertia of another man was not ascertained until one morning he went to bed because the noise which his children made irritated him. A neurologist found that the trouble was locomotor ataxia. The disease was discovered early enough to enable this person for a time at least to become partially self-supporting.

"A few weeks ago there died in a tuberculosis hospital a patient who for nearly three years by sheer power of will had forced his body to do work for which it had not the energy. Could any torture be greater than the growing sense of impotence and ineffectiveness which this man felt and struggled against during the months when for the sake of supporting his family he cast aside his hope of recovery?

"Here, indeed, is where the destruction of the poor is their poverty. The pressure upon them is to work to the last minute, to ignore disease in its incipient stages, and to neglect those slight chronic digestive troubles and minor defects in the circulatory system that feed upon the energy which men and women need to function adequately as human beings.

"Perhaps the first to recognize the dangers of *recessive* sickness has been the successful business man. Against the poverty that comes from a loss of vitality the capable executive guards himself vigilantly. He is careful about what he eats. He is particular about relaxation and recreation. He focusses every effort toward keeping himself at the peak of his energy during the hours when he must make decisions. Any casual disorder is a red signal that meets with instant attention.

"But the big business man or the successful professional man is the exception. The rule is the poor man who must often perforce neglect the aches and the pains which accompany his loss in vitality. Without the means or the courage to learn why he finds himself less and less able to do his best. Even worse, he may never have known what it is to be at one's best. Sickness like another Dracula has preyed upon his life blood from earliest childhood until he becomes what social case workers find so many families to be—spiritless, hopeless, ineffective, without the confidence that comes with physical well being and lacking the impulse toward accomplishment that springs from accomplishment. Thus he is steadily drawn deeper and deeper down into the perdition of unproductiveness.

"Through him this social Tophet threatens to engulf us all. The families under the care of charity organization societies are but symptomatic of a misery that is far more widespread than their limited numbers. For each family that, lacking resources in money, in personnel, and in friends, applies to a social agency there are hundreds that manage to struggle on without taking this last resort. All their lives they have not enough to eat or to wear. All their lives they pass in the Hell of economic insufficiency. But if those who suffer

thus are many how much greater are the multitudes of those who experience the torture of unproductiveness, the perdition of incomplete achievement? Into this Hell, one cannot tell when, any of us may sink. Verily the burden of sickness is thrusting us lower than the grave and we shall fall into Tophet."¹⁰

THE WAY OUT

With this problem of disease and death man has struggled from primitive times. What other meaning had his magical methods of curing sickness? What his sacrifices to the Gods when a loved one was in pain? What the concoction of herbs with magical incantations so laboriously produced by primitive man for the cure of human ills? What else that dream of heaven in which there is no sickness and no death, and man's age-long fear of these great human ills and his inescapable longing for the perfection of health which was set out as a bright dream against the miserable experiences of actual life?

So long as he did not know the nature of disease and so long as magical notions constituted his only science, man could not hope to overcome the ills of life. If he was of a philosophical mind, he explained them as the inevitable fates of life; if he was religiously minded, he accepted them as inscrutable acts of Providence, somehow intended by God for his own betterment. Well was it for him if he obtained a philosophy of life which, so long as he could not remedy these ills, gave him the will to meet them with high courage. For how long man wrestled with these problems without hope of overcoming them is indicated by the fact that not more than two centuries ago did medicine become in any degree scientific. Modern medicine, with its hope of finally triumphing over man's ancient enemies, disease and ill health, had very little promise of success until the triumph of the germ theory of Pasteur.

Present Methods of Dealing with Disease. Consider the methods which we have to-day to assist mankind in its struggle with disease. Perhaps the following will present an adequate picture of the present situation:

1. *Physicians and Surgeons.* In 1920 there were 144,977 physicians and surgeons registered by the Census.¹¹ In addition there were 56,152 dentists. Of the physicians and surgeons only 3,495 were negroes (though the negro population is about one-tenth of the total population).

Physicians and surgeons are quite irregularly distributed, being concentrated chiefly in the larger cities and some parts of the country having

¹⁰ de Schweinitz, Karl, "Sickness as a Factor in Poverty," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1919, pp. 160-162.

¹¹ *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, Washington, 1923, Vol. IV, p. 42. In 1926 there are reported to be 155,000 physicians. Bennett in *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1926.

very much larger numbers in proportion to population than others. Since the profession has become more highly specialized, it has also become somewhat commercialized. Moreover, on the basis of the total population in 1920, there was one physician or surgeon to each 729 people, had they been equally distributed throughout the country. Since about one out of every 28 of the population is sick all the time,¹² that means that each physician might have had on the average 26 patients to care for. These figures confirm the general impression that there are too many physicians and surgeons in the country for its needs on a commercial basis. However, their uneven distribution and the fact that some people prefer certain doctors to others, probably means that some are starving to death while others, financially, are doing well.

2. *Hospitals.* The modern practice of medicine makes a hospital almost necessary. In 1910 there were 1,918 hospitals and sanatoria in which charity patients were received. This number includes public hospitals and sanatoria, except county hospitals connected with almshouses. It includes institutions conducted by ecclesiastical, missionary, or philanthropic organizations and supported by them; institutions supported by fraternal and benevolent associations; hospitals and sanatoria owned by private corporations but held under the auspices of some ecclesiastical or benevolent body, and institutions privately owned but which received patients for free or part-pay treatment. In all but two of the geographic divisions of the United States the number of hospitals was quite inadequate. The Middle Atlantic division had 500, the largest number. However, if population is considered, the Mountain division stood first, and the New England division second. The uneven distribution in 1910 is shown by the fact that the Mountain division in that year had one hospital for each 23,725 inhabitants, while the East South Central had but one for each 135,644. In rank of the number of patients treated per 100,000 population, New England stood first with 6,023 per 100,000 of population, while East South Atlantic stood lowest with 567.¹³

The figures published by the *Journal of the American Medical Association* shows how rapidly things are moving in the hospital field in the United States and Canada. In 1926 the number of hospitals in the United States had increased to 6,946 with a total bed capacity of 859,445. While the distribution still left much to be desired, that advance has been made is shown by the fact that from 1920 the percentage of counties in the

¹² In 1908 it was estimated that there were 3,000,000 sick out of a total population of 85,000,000.

¹³ *Benevolent Institutions: 1910*, United States Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1913, pp. 46, 47.

United States which had no hospitals fell from 56 to 44. Table 38 shows the situation in detail.¹⁴

TABLE 38

GENERAL STATISTICS ON HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED STATES AND POSSESSIONS

State	Number of hos- pitals	Bed Capacity			In- ter- nal	Roent- gen Clin- ical	
		Fed- eral	State	Non-govern- ment	Total	rays	depts. labs.
Alabama	102	1,108	3,445	4,442	8,995	42	65
Arizona	87	1,514	709	2,074	4,297	1	37
Arkansas	73	1,029	2,966	3,077	7,072	19	48
California	456	6,932	15,955	26,984	49,901	346	264
Colorado	129	2,415	2,857	6,853	12,125	63	67
Connecticut	94	500	5,844	7,097	14,041	85	53
Delaware	16	28	830	653	1,511	9	8
District of Columbia	38	7,823	247	2,347	10,417	118	21
Florida	72	512	2,399	3,351	6,262	14	43
Georgia	104	1,322	5,017	5,278	11,617	89	63
Idaho	59	377	1,065	1,513	2,958	1	37
Illinois	370	2,785	24,651	31,133	58,569	527	231
Indiana	162	1,226	8,458	9,995	16,679	93	94
Iowa	194	586	7,751	8,259	16,596	69	133
Kansas	140	866	4,942	4,965	10,773	48	85
Kentucky	119	852	5,839	5,821	12,512	58	65
Louisiana	69	1,429	5,654	3,908	10,991	145	44
Maine	69	444	3,066	2,554	6,064	12	41
Maryland	92	1,699	5,011	7,125	13,835	197	49
Massachusetts	310	2,010	23,625	21,079	46,714	385	170
Michigan	228	858	14,161	17,361	32,380	277	132
Minnesota	240	1,318	10,650	12,831	24,799	179	140
Mississippi	69	425	4,211	2,386	7,022	15	52
Missouri	160	762	7,254	15,319	23,335	235	93
Montana	72	425	1,822	2,733	4,980	7	40
Nebraska	123	155	4,776	4,913	9,844	60	86
Nevada	24	164	270	539	973	1	14
New Hampshire ..	53	240	2,100	2,187	4,527	1	34
New Jersey	179	133	7,613	20,168	27,914	218	107
New Mexico	55	1,062	538	1,683	3,283	...	25
New York	645	6,249	50,870	68,913	126,032	1,331	363
North Carolina ...	154	1,097	5,118	6,497	12,712	27	100
North Dakota	53	82	2,233	2,085	4,400	6	31
Ohio	296	1,813	19,847	20,821	42,481	308	175
Oklahoma	112	765	4,725	3,303	8,793	26	72
Oregon	95	505	4,286	4,097	8,888	35	52
Pennsylvania	417	1,357	18,259	49,870	69,486	678	252

¹⁴ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, March 12, 1927, p. 836.

TABLE 38—Continued

GENERAL STATISTICS ON HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED STATES AND POSSESSIONS

State	Number of hos- pitals	Bed Capacity				Roent- gen Clin- ical		
		Fed- eral	State	Non-govern- ment	Total	In- ray	depts.	labs.
Rhode Island	38	280	3,225	2,649	6,154	34	17	21
South Carolina	64	257	2,832	2,718	5,807	38	32	37
South Dakota	64	857	2,145	1,912	4,914	1	40	44
Tennessee	108	1,560	3,764	6,481	11,805	105	57	66
Texas	277	2,022	9,612	12,448	24,082	120	174	188
Utah	40	41	806	1,550	2,397	17	28	24
Vermont	37	62	1,317	1,736	3,115	11	18	13
Virginia	113	1,852	7,526	5,604	14,982	98	72	81
Washington	135	1,743	5,665	7,158	14,566	35	84	78
West Virginia	75		4,053	4,316	8,369	31	55	56
Wisconsin	232	1,266	4,327	18,736	24,329	105	120	121
Wyoming	33	716	648	783	2,147	...	20	18
Totals, U. S.	6,946	63,553	334,984	460,908	859,445	6,320	4,103	4,170
Possessions								
Alaska	26	239		361	600	..	13	14
Canal Zone	16	1,807	570	267	2,644	13	6	11
Hawaii	50	2,090		2,235	4,325	8	19	27
Philippine Islands	91	1,069	7,553	1,865	10,487	37	13	43
Porto Rico	65	180	578	2,080	2,838	10	13	21
Totals, Possessions	248	5,385	8,701	6,808	20,894	68	64	116
Totals, U. S. and Possessions	7,194	68,938	343,685	467,716	880,339	6,388	4,167	4,286

In Canada in 1926 there were 458 hospitals with a bed capacity of 62,500. The distribution in the several provinces may be seen in Table 39.¹⁵

3. *Nurses.* To-day the nurse is as necessary as the physician. In 1910 the Census reported 82,327 trained nurses in this country. In 1917 the American Nurses' Association found there were in the United States then 83,755 graduate nurses, 66,017 of whom were graduates of schools accredited by that Association. The Census of 1920 returned 149,128 trained nurses. The report, however, expresses the belief that probably in this number there were included some practical nurses and children's nurse-maids.¹⁶ It is probable, however, that the impetus given to nursing dur-

¹⁵ *Journal of the American Medical Association*, pp. 836-837.

¹⁶ *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, Washington, 1923, Vol. IV, pp. 17, 42.

TABLE 39
GENERAL STATISTICS ON HOSPITALS IN CANADA

Province	Number of hos- pitals	Bed capacity			In- ray ternes	Roent- gen depts.	Clini- cal labs.
		Provin- cial	Non- provincial	Total capacity			
Alberta	49	497	2,583	3,080	7	25	13
British Columbia	81	2,615	4,009	6,624	15	41	25
Manitoba	36	1,882	3,189	5,071	54	17	16
New Brunswick	18	905	1,075	1,980	..	12	13
Nova Scotia	31	1,325	1,437	2,762	17	15	15
Ontario	135	9,614	12,836	22,450	186	63	69
Prince Edward Island..	4	320	194	514	...	2	3
Quebec	56	7,131	8,155	15,286	146	23	32
Saskatchewan	40	1,985	1,999	3,984	8	23	19
Newfoundland	5	471	205	676	1	2	2
Yukon	3	36	37	73	..	3	2
Totals	458	26,781	35,719	62,500	434	226	209

ing the War has led to a very great increase since 1910. This is indicated by the fact shown by the Census that in addition to the number of trained nurses reported in 1920, there were 151,996 untrained nurses as compared with a total of 26,838 reported in 1910. The number of Nurses' Training Schools has been growing very rapidly, the number having increased from 11 in 1879 to 1,776 in 1917 and 1918.

Once the nurse was only a private duty nurse or a hospital nurse. To-day various other kinds of nurses have developed, such as the visiting nurse, the school nurse, the dispensary nurse, the tuberculosis nurse, nurses employed in stores and factories, and the public health nurse.

Unfortunately until recently most of these nurses were concentrated in the cities. With the growth of the movement for the country health nurse, an increasing number have been made available to country people.

4. *Dispensaries and Clinics.* Scattered throughout the country, especially in the larger cities, sometimes connected with hospitals, sometimes separate, are a number of dispensaries and clinics to which people can come for advice and treatment. These do not need a bed and are what are called ambulatory cases.

In 1922 a survey of the dispensaries was made by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Medical Association. It was the first complete presentation of dispensary data in the United States. 935 general dispensaries reported, which handled during the year

3,733,759 patients. These patients during the year made 11,642,707 visits. Seventy-five other general dispensaries were known which did not report. It was estimated that if their figures were included the total number of patients would amount to 4,500,000 and the total number of visits to them 13,500,000. In addition to these general dispensaries there was found to be a number of tuberculosis, nervous, mental and other diseases, and the Federal dispensaries.

This study made the following observations:

"1. There is a steady increase in patients seeking treatment in general dispensaries.

"2. There has been an unprecedented increase since the war in special clinics and dispensaries, such as those for tuberculosis, venereal disease, mental hygiene, and child hygiene.

"3. There is great need for individualized study and treatment of dispensary patients, to counteract what seems to be a prevailing tendency toward routine.

"4. There is need of a closer bond between the out-patient service and the other services of hospitals; and this will be best met by having the hospital and the out-patient staffs identical and by having unified records.

"5. In the matter of finances there is an increasing tendency to charge nominal fees, thereby placing part of the cost of an institution on the patient.

"6. A general increase is noted in the use of social service workers to see that patients continue their treatment, and to investigate their social and financial status so as to prevent pauperizing.

"7. The difficulty of securing satisfactory data is increased by the inadequacy of clinical and office record systems in a large number of institutions.

"8. There is a great and increasing amount of educational work, especially the teaching of internes, medical students, graduates and pupil nurses."¹⁷

In 1923 the Census estimated that during the year a total of 21,706,600 visits were made by patients to general and special dispensaries in the United States.

5. *Medical Social Service.* What is known as medical social service arose partly out of the abuse of hospitals and dispensaries by people who could afford to pay, but who were claiming that they were unable to do so, partly out of the recognition that disease is often the product of the conditions under which people live and work, and that cure depends upon the change in the family and in working conditions which have brought on the illness. The present movement goes back to the establishment of such service in the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1905. By 1918 Dr. Cabot reported that about 200 hospitals had started social work in connection with their patients.¹⁸ Medical social service represents one

¹⁷ "Complete Dispensary Data Now Available," *Red Cross Courier*, January 6, 1923, American Red Cross.

¹⁸ Cabot, R. C., *Social Work*, Boston, 1919, pp. 25, 26.

more extension of human effort to control the conditions which produce ill health and to bring about cure by adjusting social conditions to that end. It is the application of social case work to the healing of disease. It is a recognition that ill health is the product not only of germs, but of the physiological dis-function which comes about by subjection of the human organism to bad social conditions in the widest sense.

6. *Health Centers.* By the health center we mean any room or building in which health information is given with the purpose of teaching people how to keep well. Frequently clinical examination occurs there but this is chiefly for the purpose of interesting those who come in the matter of health and providing a means whereby health education can be disseminated. No treatment is given in the health center and if the need of treatment is discovered, the person is referred to his family physician, or to a hospital, or dispensary. Sometimes out of them the public health nurse works, and frequently it is the starting point from which she gets her clues as to what people she should follow up and give further information. The health center is only one more method devised to teach people the value of health and hygiene.

Social settlements and some welfare associations have seen the importance of public health instruction. The Red Cross, following the War, took up health centers as one of its main activities; State Boards of Health in a number of our states have developed them; and a number of private organizations, such as Anti-Tuberculosis Associations, frequently have organized them and stimulated interest in public health in this way. Often they go under other names, such as Child Health Clinics, or Child Welfare Clinics.

7. *Other Health Agencies.* In addition to those named, with the growth of the movement a large number of private organizations have developed methods of promoting the health of our people. One thinks at once of the extended work of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in providing nursing service for its policy-holders. Then there are the factories and large stores in cities, great industrial plants, and other business concerns which have found it to their financial interest to provide hospitals, nurses, and out-patient clinics for their employees.

8. *Public Health Departments.* In this brief survey of the agencies already at work for the conservation of the health of the people, the Public Health Departments, municipal, county, state, and national, should not be neglected. Each of our 48 states and our 4 dependencies, Alaska, the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, and also the District

of Columbia, has a board of health. The income of all these state and territorial departments in 1926 amounted to over \$24,342,974.¹⁹

In addition, 790 cities in the United States of 10,000 or above reported health officers in 1926, of which 351 had full-time city health officers.

The duties of these state and municipal public health officers vary widely in the different states. The chief duties of the municipal officers are the enforcement of the quarantine regulations, sanitary laws, and other regulations affecting public health. However, in the larger cities, the municipal health department frequently has a wide program for the promotion of health as well as the enforcement of laws and regulations. Frequently they hold clinics of various sorts for the discovery of disease. In some of the cities a large force of nurses works under the Department of Health. Often the City Department of Health has laboratories for the purpose of testing water, food and milk, and for the microscopic examination of specimens sent in by physicians.

The State Departments of Health vary from state to state very markedly. Compare, for example, one mid-western state with its Bureau of Child Hygiene and Public Nursing, and its Bureau of Venereal Diseases, with an appropriation of about \$20,000 a year, with the Public Health Department of a state like Massachusetts, which has the following divisions and bureaus: Division of Administration, Division of Communicable Diseases, Division of Sanitary Engineering, Division of Water and Sewage Laboratories, Division of Biologic Laboratory, Division of Food and Drugs, Division of Hygiene, Division of Tuberculosis Sanatoria, with a budget of \$2,091,450.²⁰

As the climax of the public health service of this country stands the United States Public Health Service. It originated from the marine hospital service which was established by an act of Congress approved July 16, 1798. The original purpose of this service was to furnish care for sick and disabled seamen in hospitals, either maintained by the United States or in civilian institutions with which contracts might be negotiated. It now has in its service more than eight thousand men and women and expends ten and a half million dollars annually. It is organized into the following divisions: Division of Scientific Research, Division of Marine Hospitals and Relief, Division of Foreign and Insular Quarantine, Division of Sanitary Reports and Statistics, Division of Personnel

¹⁹ "Directory of State and Insular Health Activities, 1926," *Public Health Reports* (issued weekly by the United States Public Health Service), Vol. 41, No. 35, August 27, 1926, pp. 1825-1845.

²⁰ *Public Health Reports*, August 27, 1926, Washington, 1926, pp. 1833, 1834, 1838.

and Accounts, Division of Domestic Quarantine, and Division of Venereal Diseases.

The functions of the United States Public Health Service may be summarized as follows:

- "1. Furnishing medical service to American seamen and other beneficiaries.
- "2. Protection of the United States from the introduction of diseases from without.
- "3. Prevention of the interstate spread of disease and the suppression of epidemics.
- "4. Coöperation with State and local boards of health as well as with Federal agencies in health matters.
- "5. Investigation of diseases of man.
- "6. Supervision and control of biological products.
- "7. Public health education and dissemination of health information."²¹

9. *Private Health Agencies.* In addition to public agencies supported out of public funds there are many private agencies promoting health in one way or another, such, for example, as the anti-tuberculosis associations in various states, the National Anti-Tuberculosis Association, the associations against cancer, the heart associations, Child Welfare League of America, child health associations, and many others too numerous to mention. Most of these actively carry on propaganda in the interest of public health. In addition to these some of the insurance companies like the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, send out people to give addresses and publish many bulletins in the interest of public health. In fact, so far has the health propaganda gone that the manufacturers of various products have capitalized the health slogan in their advertising. For example, we hear of "health bran," "health bread," "health underwear," "health toothbrushes," and "health soap."

OTHER MEASURES NECESSARY IN THE INTEREST OF HEALTH

Perhaps no other interest of the people of the United States aside from money-making, education, and religion commands more attention at the present time than health. The present propaganda in the interest of health is certainly greater in volume and better prepared than that in the interest of religion or of education. It is surpassed only by business advertising. The health crusade is new—perhaps therefore a crusade. In spite, however, of its apparent widespread acceptance, and in spite of the well organized agencies public and private for its spread, health education has only commenced its great tasks. Consider over against the victories won the fields still to be conquered.

²¹ *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 41, No. 50, December 10, 1926, p. 2827.

While the modern health movement and modern medicine have delivered many from age-long fear, still countless millions live in the shadow of death, as a brief study of our mortality and morbidity statistics show. Needless death still sweeps off millions. While death ought to occur at the end of a long and useful life, a welcome end to the outworn machine, yet to-day most of us die untimely deaths. Infants, youths and men and women in the flush of maturity still perish with life unfulfilled. Moreover, in spite of all the health propaganda, millions spend their lives in sickness and consequent inefficiency.

As one looks back, then, over the development of agencies for the care of the sick, and for the education of the people in health, while he is struck with the rapid growth of medical facilities, of agencies for the prevention of sickness, and of the progress of the campaign in health education, he recognizes that the battle is only begun. How shall the knowledge now available to the scientists be made the common property of all? How shall the people be provided with the facilities they need in time of sickness? What can be done about the majority of deaths and sicknesses which we do not yet know how to prevent? These are some of the unanswered questions which challenge this generation.

Health, like a good many other concerns of man, depends upon two great sets of factors: (1) What may be called the constitutional qualities we inherit, and (2) the circumstances of life.

The Hereditary Aspects of Health and Disease. Live-stock men for some time have recognized the importance of good heredity in their herds. The breeding of domestic animals has become scientific. The scrubs and weaklings are not allowed to reproduce, but the flocks and herds are bred from the finest specimens. The natural selection of wild life has given place to the artificial selection of the domesticated animal. When man is concerned with his domestic animals he believes that he can select better than undisturbed nature.

Not so, however, when it comes to the human stock. Here our marriage laws allow anyone who is not patently feeble-minded or insane to secure a license to wed and propagate his kind. A few of our states provide also against the issuing of marriage certificates to those who are venereally diseased. Yet so deep-rooted in our prejudices is the belief that everyone who is not a slobbering idiot should have the right to marry and procreate, that the administration of even these laws for the preservation of the stock of the human race is very inadequate, and we have grave difficulty in keeping such laws on the statute books. We allow practically undisturbed *sexual* selection, although through our charities and medical

science we prevent the operation of the ruthless *natural* selection which took place in a state of nature. We have artificially so modified the natural processes for the elimination of the weak and the incapable that few of them are eliminated by the process of natural selection. On the other hand, however, we have done little or nothing to prevent the mating of the weak and the incapable. The result is that we are breeding from our human runts even more freely than from our thoroughbreds. They are without that foresight that the capable possess. They marry without thought of the future and produce families without prudence. Incapable of considering that their stock is of the runt variety, naturally they do not hesitate to have as many children as they can. The result is that the capables, those with foresight, those who have contributions to make to the welfare of the race, carry upon their backs the burden of the support of these incapables. Moreover, through intermarriage of the capable with these incapable, the stock deteriorates instead of being bred for points adapted to the society in the midst of which we live.

The science of eugenics, founded by Sir Francis Galton, has two aspects: (1) negative eugenics, which means the elimination through the lack of breeding of the disgenic stock, and (2) positive eugenics, which means the cultivation of sentiments and ideals which will lead the thoroughbreds to mate only with thoroughbreds and rear adequate families. Galton has suggested that it is possible for society consciously to develop ideals in individuals which will make them shrink from a marriage which promotes degeneracy. Education along the line of positive eugenics, it is believed, will lead to discrimination in the matter of marriage much more generally than is practiced now. Young people contemplating marriage should very seriously consider the hereditary background of their prospective mates. If there is a history of insanity, epilepsy, or feeble-mindedness in the ancestors, he who takes the risk is shouldering a great responsibility to the race. This may seem shocking to young, romantic love. Proverbially, love is blind. I wonder if that is not the reason why so many young people fail to take into consideration the heredity of their prospective mates? Modern education has the responsibility of opening their eyes to these important considerations.

On the side of negative eugenics much more strenuous steps must be taken to control the propagation of the incapable than is now to be found in any civilized country. Consider the significance of the fact that in none of our states have we made provisions for the segregation of the feeble-minded to the extent of more than one-twentieth of the number supposed to be present in the population. Furthermore, consider the

responsibility of those who by reason of inherited weakness bring into the world children who all their lives suffer from weakness and disease. Some day perhaps even the foundation of good health will be considered a eugenic matter. Education on the importance of the hereditary basis of good health ought not to be impossible, because many of these people who produce weakling children have minds capable of understanding the importance of this subject. When there is patent weakness in the ancestry, should they take the risk of bringing into the world those who all their life long will suffer from the defective constitutions handed on to them by their parents? (See Chapter 12.)

Public Hygiene Measures. The eugenic measures are for the benefit of posterity. There are other measures, however, which affect the present generation. Hygienic measures, based upon our present knowledge as to the prevention and cure of sickness may be realized either through public hygiene, quasi-public hygiene, or personal hygiene.²² The public health departments of cities, states, and the United States Government have much ground to occupy before they shall have done their utmost in the conflict with disease. Consider the meaning of the fact that out of 790 city health officers in the United States only 351 are full-time, and that 439 places with 10,000 or more population have only part-time health officers. Besides these a considerable number more have no health officer at all, so far as we can judge from the records. Yet if health is of the primary importance which our discussion seems to show, how foolish is this short-sighted and penurious policy. How important it is that the water we drink, the milk which babies have to use so largely these days, have no one to guard them in a city of 10,000 people. Consider the menace from our food products when there is no health officer to watch. How frequently diseases are spread among children because of the lack of proper quarantine.

In recent years great advances have been made in all these matters. Streets are cleaned much more effectively than ever before. Sanitary water supplies have been provided in wide areas. City health departments are watching food supplies, regulating quarantine, attending to garbage disposal and sewage as never before. Nevertheless, much remains yet to be done. There are still cities the supply of drinking water for which come from contaminated rivers and lakes. Because of the agitation of ignorant people, quarantine regulations are not as strictly enforced in some places

²² Fisher, Irving, "National Vitality, Its Waste and Conservation," in *Report of the National Conservation Commission, Senate Document*, No. 676, 60th Congress, 2nd session, Washington, 1909, Vol. 3, p. 628.

as they should be. While some cities are providing vaccines of various kinds for the prevention of such diseases as smallpox, typhoid fever, and diphtheria, so appalling is the ignorance of the people that in many places there is a determined fight against the use of these preventives. City health departments and state departments of health have still enormous reaches of territory which must be covered more effectively than they are to-day. State health departments have a serious problem in the struggle to prevent people contracting diseases while on their summer vacations. Many of the resorts ignore the simplest elements of sanitation. Many a man comes back from his vacation with the germs of typhoid lurking in his system from the water which he drank. The sanitation of the villages and open country is still in its infancy.

Furthermore, to various state departments belong the problems connected with the sanitation of factories and other places in which people work. Upon these conditions depends the health of innumerable persons. While state departments have been working on this problem in various parts of the country, a large number of our states make very little provision for the protection of the health of the worker in industry. The whole problem of industrial hygiene is just in its infancy. What shall we say of the labor of women just before and soon after childbirth? Studies in England showed that the number of still-births and of deaths of infants soon after birth was very greatly increased by improper guarding of the mother in factories at that period.

Moreover, only a few of our states have provided an adequate compensation law for industrial accidents. The figures often cited indicate that an enormous amount of disability arises from such accidents. Furthermore, traffic conditions on our roads and streets must be more carefully regulated and our people taught the importance of safe driving else the number of accidents from the automobile is bound to mount.

Furthermore, the lack of proper housing laws and tenement-house regulations in many of our cities is a distinct menace to health. Cities and states must more carefully regulate the building and repair of houses before the death and sickness rate incident to unhygienic housing conditions decrease very materially. The houses of an astonishing number of our American cities still contain dark rooms, in which breed all kinds of disease germs.

While the United States Public Health Service has grown enormously in the last few years, and its contributions to the health of our people are worthy of the highest praise, nevertheless so much still remains to be done that its present achievements seem somewhat trivial. Its efforts

to prevent the importation of diseased persons and products are commendable. Its researches are of the very greatest value. Its publications are of the highest importance. And yet how few people they actually reach. How little attention is paid to them by the newspapers, which are the university of most people. Its work should be very much more widely extended and more adequately supported.

While the standards of the medical profession have been rising rapidly in the last few years, there is much yet to be done. There are still to be found medical schools turning out practitioners inadequately trained and some of them of such low character that it is impossible to expect them to adorn the profession. Too often the members of the medical profession are so engrossed in the practice of medicine as a business, instead of a profession, that, instead of seconding with all their power the work of the state and city departments of health, the work of private associations for health education, the multiplication of nurses and other agencies for disseminating health instruction, they are found in the opposition. Perhaps the time will come when more of them than now will find their chief aim to be that of putting themselves out of business by assisting in the program of health education and prevention.

Furthermore, the extensive use of patent medicines, the presence everywhere of quacks of every sort, and the rapid growth of various methods of non-medical healing are symptomatic of the great work that still needs to be done in the education of the public on public health matters. How little the man on the street knows about the nature of disease and the methods of preventing it. How little impression modern science has made upon him is shown by the fact that thousands of these charlatans and quacks live upon the people who prefer them to our regular physicians. Truly, the doctor has his job of public health education cut out for him in the face of the dense ignorance that exists and the belief in these occult practices. If they but had eyes to see it, the doctors have before them in these things a challenge to their best efforts to promote health education. As a whole they are a self-sacrificing and charitable group of men. Very few of them turn away the person who cannot pay, yet too many of them are blind to the fact that public health education, instead of ruining their practice from the commercial point of view, would send thousands to them who now buy patent medicines or go to the quacks.

Much as needs to be done in the line of physical health, how much greater is the need with regard to mental health. Physical hygiene has a start; mental hygiene is in its infancy. It was not very long ago when insanity was looked upon as a doom, not a disease. Fortunately, that

attitude has changed among those who are familiar with the nature of the various forms of insanity.

How far our mental hygiene is behind physical hygiene is shown by the fact that very few people consult doctors for their mental difficulties as compared to those who consult physicians for their physical troubles. Among the populace generally insanity is still looked upon as something dreadful and inexplicable. Enough is known, however, at the present time to enable us to prevent the terrible inroads upon the mental health of the people which the various insanities are now making. Here is a field which needs cultivation. In some states we have mental hygiene associations, the purpose of which is to instruct people as to the nature of their mental maladies, but how few they are and how few are the people which they reach! Insanity is looked upon as a disgrace which must be hidden. Only a few of our states have provided mental clinics to which people may come for consultation, and yet the number of insane people grows by leaps and bounds. The number will continue to grow until we shall learn how to teach people the elements of mental hygiene, the signs of mental disturbance, and the fundamental nature of the disease.

Closely connected with mental disease are two physical factors, syphilis and alcoholism. In the statistics of insanity it has been shown that insane men are very much more numerous at a given age than women, yet when the cases of alcoholic psychosis and paresis are deducted, it is discovered that the incidence of insanity is about the same for men and women. Does not this signify that one of the most promising attacks upon mental disease is that upon vice and alcohol? Yet how few people look upon vice crusades as a health measure, and how much fewer are they who look upon the prohibition movement as a health measure.

Since man's mind rather than his body is the thing that distinguishes him from the brute, why should not mental hygiene have even a greater impetus than physical hygiene? Yet to-day it lags sadly behind. Here is a field which challenges the best thought of all.

Personal Hygiene. Important as are these various measures of community hygiene, they are insignificant in comparison with personal hygiene. You talk in vain to a man who has no ideals of personal hygiene, when you try to educate him to community hygiene. Your education has no soil of experience in which to root itself. The difficulties of the public health educator, whether he be doctor, nurse, public health department head, or representative of a private health agency, are primarily due to the fact that the individuals to whom he appeals do not have ideals of personal hygiene. Of what value is it to have pure drinking water sup-

plied to the city if the consumer drinks it out of a glass used by a typhoid patient? What signifies it if the inspection of the milk supply be ever so good if the mother feeds it to her baby from an unclean bottle? Of what value are quarantine regulations against children's diseases if the mother whose child is quarantined believes that every child ought to have these diseases when he is young? And how surely are the results of hygienic laboratories negated by the personal habits of vicious, gluttonous, and bibulous persons? The most ardent advocates of public health departments and provisions urge the supreme importance of everyone so living that he provides within himself a resistance to the invasion of bacteria.

Our habits of eating from childhood to old age are of the very greatest importance in the preservation of good health. The death-rate of babies has been cut since we have learned how to feed them. For adults it is an old saying that "we dig our graves with our teeth." One of the lessons which every man and woman has to learn as he grows older is the importance of controlling his appetite for food. Moreover, some individuals can digest certain kinds of food which others cannot. Consequently, one of the great movements of the present day for the preservation of health is careful attention to the hygiene of nutrition.

More than that, sound bodily health depends upon the proper elimination of the wastes of the body. We are told that most of us do not drink water enough. From the advertisements in our newspapers one would judge that one of our greatest problems is that of proper elimination. Improper elimination of waste means the poisoning of the whole system. Many health resorts have flourished on the theory of curing disease by elimination only. Many of us who are sick have poisoned ourselves.

It must be confessed, however, that part of our poisoning of ourselves is from without rather than from within. Numerous poisons have become habits. Perhaps the greatest of these is alcohol. Could we do away with the abuse of alcoholic liquors the probabilities are that we should very greatly decrease the amount of sickness and ill-health, both physical and mental. Taken in any considerable quantities alcohol seriously interferes with various physiological functions; its relationship to the production of insanity has already been indicated; it is closely related to several other important diseases also. It is a well-known fact that most of our largest insurance companies inquire particularly about the drinking habits of the applicants for its policies. More favorable rates of premiums are often given to the total abstainer.

Other narcotic drugs such as morphine, heroin, veronal, and cocaine, since they are habit-forming drugs and lead to the demand for ever larger doses, are inimical to good health. Often the habit of taking these drugs grows out of the abuse of drugs by the physician for the alleviation of pain rather than an attack upon the causes of the disease, sometimes from patent medicines. These drugs therefore are rather carefully regulated by both the United States Government and the various health departments. However, the real solution of the drug habit is in a growing appreciation by each individual of the importance of remaining free from the clutches of such a habit. Beware of the headache tablet and the patent medicine which has any of these habit-forming drugs in its make-up.

A poison of less importance which, nevertheless, may be injurious to health, if taken into the system in too large quantities, is tobacco. Closely related to tobacco are certain other drugs widely used; among them coffee, tea, and cocoa. Again, unless used to excess, they are probably not particularly injurious for the normally healthy person.

Another measure of personal hygiene is proper exercise. Man in his development has been an active creature. To-day large sections of our population are sedentary. The motor car has done more than anything else to bring about physical inactivity. We drive to our offices and then have to play golf in order to secure exercise. The recreation movement of the present time is a vital necessity to good health. Sports should be encouraged as a public health measure. The activity connected with outdoor sports stimulates circulation of the blood, activity of the organs which eliminate waste from the system, and tends to promote good health. While we laugh at the golf enthusiast and the old men who join walking clubs, we have to admit that every device which can get men away from their chairs and into active games promotes sound health and lengthens life.

Sex Hygiene. In every life there are two primary urges—the urge for food and the urge for a mate. Both may be abused and such abuse destroys good health. While the abuse of food and sex have many other social ramifications, our concern here is the relationship of sex to health. Men and women are naturally so constituted that the normal exercise of the sex function is as compatible with good health as the normal use of food. While it is contended by some that many physical and mental ills are the result of the denial of the normal exercise of the sex function, there are other medical authorities who believe that such denial is not of serious consequence if the individual can find equivalent expression of his love-life in challenging social projects. How often have we seen those who have not married find satisfactory expressions of their love-life in

devotion to children, in the care of those who are helpless, and in active concern for the disadvantaged. People differ in self-control as in other matters, but social policy cannot be based upon the ability of the weak. It must be built upon a policy which will have regard to the health of the people. Whatever debates there may be with regard to sexual conduct from other points of view, there is no question that from the standpoint of health irregular sexual relations are of the very greatest menace. Upon such practices depends the spread of venereal disease which causes tremendous losses every year. No method has been devised by which it can be insured that sexual relations outside of matrimony will not result in disease.

We have no way of knowing how widespread are such diseases. Between July 1, 1924, and December 31, 1924, 183,726 were reported to the various State Boards of Health. The probabilities are that those reported are only a fractional part of the entire number in the country, since the reporting of venereal diseases, while now required in all states of the United States, is not observed by all physicians.

All of these diseases are serious menaces to public health. So serious is syphilis that many life insurance companies will not issue a policy to a man until four or five years after he has been pronounced cured. This disease often leads to insanity, paralysis, apoplexy, softening of the brain, and locomotor ataxia. Moreover, it is serious in its effects upon unborn children. The terrible ravages of this disease are beyond computation.

Blindness of the new-born is a disease caused by gonorrhea. It has been estimated that 25 per cent of all the cases of blindness in the United States have been caused to innocent children by this disease. Also it accounts for, we are told, a large proportion of the major operations upon women. Ill health, especially in the female, is a consequence. How much misery it has caused in human history and how much it is causing at this present moment, no one can compute.

While various cures are being experimented with, and while we should look forward with hope to the time when perhaps these diseases can be treated successfully by medicine, the results indicate the importance of prevention.²³ However we view the matter, there is no question that sex hygiene is one of the most important aspects of personal hygiene.

Fortunately, this matter is receiving increased attention both from the standpoint of cure and prevention. In 1924 there were 502 venereal disease clinics reporting to the United States Public Health Service. Some of these were State Board Clinics; some were under the joint control of

²³ *United States Public Health Report*, April 10, 1925, p. 724.

United States Public Health Service and State Boards of Health; others were conducted by counties and city health boards; others were private institutions. Into these 502 clinics from July 1 to December 31, 1924, a total of 60,401 patients were admitted. To this number of patients 1,202,609 treatments were given and 26,916 patients were discharged as non-infectious.²⁴

Education in sex hygiene has also had a great growth since the War. Forty per cent of the high schools of the country have instituted some instruction to the pupils in sex hygiene. Whereas before 1918 only two states required notification of venereal diseases, now every state and the District of Columbia have this requirement. This again shows that public attention has been focused on the problem. In spite of these signs of increased interest, however, there are serious problems still to be faced. People easily get tired of hearing about any one subject and lose interest unless continued attention in new ways to enlist interest is given to the problem. The importance of this phase of personal hygiene cannot be better indicated than by the following: "If the relative importance of the several phases of modern public health is analyzed, it will be apparent to any impartial observer that social hygiene should take first place. It involves not only the prevention of that group of diseases transmitted by sexual contact, in which is syphilis, the greatest killing and disabling disease, and gonorrhea, probably the most prevalent of the serious diseases which afflict the race, but it is related directly to many other phases of life. Social hygiene is concerned with character formation; it influences mental health to a profound degree; it is a most significant factor in marital happiness; in short, social hygiene influences more directly our whole social system and guides more intimately the whole trend of our civilization than any other phase of public health."²⁵

If health is our most important economic asset, and if it lies at the basis of social usefulness, if upon it depends the progress of our country in every line, how important is it that we give support to every effort to promote good health. The diseases which destroy our people and undermine our happiness, disintegrate our social life, and lead to so many other social problems, constitute a challenge to the best efforts of all good citizens. Not all of us can take part in a war for the defense of our country; all of us can engage, however, in the fight against perhaps the greatest social problem we have, that of ill-health.

²⁴ U. S. *Public Health Report*, p. 723; compare Parran, Thomas, "Social Hygiene and Public Health," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, January, 1927, pp. 17 ff.

²⁵ Parran, Thomas, "Social Hygiene and Public Health," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, January, 1927, p. 19.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Point out the chief ways in which poor health is a social waste.
2. What changes have taken place in the relative importance of the various diseases which cause death in the last twenty five years?
3. Is there any relation between the decrease in the death-rate of children and the increased death-rate of adults from such diseases as heart disease, cancer, and cerebral hemorrhage? What?
4. Name five social problems which are affected by sickness and death.
5. Set down in your own way the different methods now used of (a) treating the sick; (b) preventing disease.
6. Are these measures adequate to the solution of the problem of disease and untimely death? Why?
7. Outline the chief elements in a program to solve the problem of disease and premature death.
8. What social problems would you expect partially at least to solve by such a program?

CHAPTER 24

THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

All social problems grow out of maladjustments. The rich and the poor have been with us ever since one man was able to control more desirable objects than another. They were not pressing social problems, however, until methods of trading developed to such a point that a market was established for the exchange of commodities and a scale of values was established in the minds of men. To-day, with business organized on a world basis, with the development of what is practically a world market, and with certain standards of living established in the customs and traditions of men, poverty has become a stark and naked reality in contrast with riches, and dependency stands out in contrast with independence. Differences in the amount of goods possessed by different people may be of great significance even for those above the poverty line. For those below that line such differences may be tragic.

^ The poverty line is determined by the customs and modes of living of each society. Poverty may be defined, therefore, as *that condition of living in which a person, either because of inadequate income or unwise expenditure, does not maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for the physical and mental efficiency of himself and to enable him and his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member.* Anyone living in that condition is below the poverty line.

Dependency in a broad, general sense may or may not have any relationship to poverty or pauperism. The young child is dependent upon its parents, although they may be rich. On the other hand, the child in an orphanage or placed out in a family is dependent and may be a pauper. The only dependency which creates a social problem is the dependency connected with support by someone other than one's natural or legal supporter. The wife, dependent upon her husband for support, is a dependent, but constitutes no social problem. However, the wife left without means of support by her husband, who either deserts, goes to jail, or dies, creates a problem for society. Dependency in the narrow sense of the term, therefore, is synonymous with pauperism.

Pauperism, therefore, may be defined as *that condition of life in which one depends upon someone else than his natural or legal supporter for his sustenance, either in whole or in part*. The child dependent upon its parents is not a pauper, while the child dependent upon an orphanage or a child-placing organization, or boarded out, is a pauper. The wife, while her husband is still living who can support her, is dependent upon him but is not a pauper. If, however, she receives a mother's pension, she is a pauper, and therefore a social problem.

AMOUNT OF POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

Unfortunately national statistics in most countries do not provide us information that will throw light upon the amount of poverty and dependency. We must arrive at a conception of their extent by indirect methods. For example, in 1918, the Federal income tax returns showed that over one-third (34.28 per cent) of those reporting had incomes between \$1,000 and \$2,000, and received only 14.2 per cent of the national income. To state the matter in other words, the most prosperous 5 per cent of the income receivers got 26 per cent of the total; the most prosperous 10 per cent received nearly 35 per cent of the total. One result of the World War was to reduce slightly the inequality in the distribution of the national income. The 5 per cent of those gainfully employed who had the largest incomes had their share reduced from 38 per cent in 1913-1916 to about 25 per cent in 1918-1919. The per capita income of the people of the United States increased from \$318 in 1909 to \$506 in 1918. Or, if reduced to terms of prices of 1913, there was an increase from \$333 in 1909 to \$372 in 1918, or an increase of 11.7 per cent. Nevertheless, the National Bureau of Economic Research estimates that even if an equal distribution of income could be effected without serious impairment of the machinery of production on which all incomes depend, there would be only a small margin for the normal family above the amount needed to maintain a decent standard of living.¹

A similar situation existed before the War with respect to wealth. King showed that the poorest two-thirds of the people owned at that time but a petty five or six per cent of the wealth, and the poorest four-fifths of the population owned scarcely ten per cent of the total wealth of the land, while the richest two per cent of the population possessed almost three-fifths of the wealth. In other words, each of the men in the richest four-hundredth part of the population possessed one hundred

¹ Burritt, "Preventing Poverty," *The Survey*, April 15, 1925, p. 81; Seager, H. R., "Income in the United States," *The Survey*, November 19, 1921, p. 270.

times the wealth of the average citizen.² Royal Meeker, then United States Commissioner of Labor, in 1919 estimated that American families on the average were not fully nourished until their yearly income reached \$1,800. He pointed out, however, that the average income in this country fell well below \$1,600; as a matter of fact about \$1,350.³

These are but indications of the actual situation. No one can say exactly what proportion of our people are living on or near the poverty line. From the standpoint, however, of our definition of poverty, certainly we shall be conservative if we say a fifth of our people do not have those necessities of life to enable them to maintain their physical and mental efficiency and to conform to the standards of decency set by the members of their group. If we think of the standard as one which implies taking advantage of life's opportunities for the children, doubtless the proportion of those in poverty would be greater. Lack of recreation, a poverty-stricken social life that gives no outlook beyond the bare necessities, absence of opportunities for those social contacts that ennoble personality, create an aspiration for better things, and inspire a sentiment of patriotic devotion to the country, are conditions that obtain in all too large a proportion of our population. These people from the standpoint of social development and good citizenship are in poverty.⁴

From all the indications we can get from Europe since the War, poverty is much more widespread than it was before. The staggering burden of national debt weighs down upon each individual, raising the price of commodities needed, and taking taxes from the people in unprecedented measure.

Pauper Dependency. In 1913, 4 per cent of the population of England and Wales were in receipt of public aid. By 1923 this had risen to over 6 per cent. In 1923 England and Wales gave poor relief to 1,547,990 persons and old age pensions to 889,000. Fortunately the figures for 1924 and 1925 show a substantial decrease to 3.11 per cent in 1925. This, however, is an enormous increase over the rate of 2.3 per cent in 1908.⁵

In the United States we have no national statistics on pauperism except for those in almshouses. On January 1, 1923, 7.1 per 10,000 of the population were in almshouses in the United States. The number in such institutions is steadily decreasing. However, since almshouses are only

² King, W. I., *Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, New York, 1915, pp. 80-82.

³ Meeker, "What is the American Standard of Living?" *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1919, p. 5.

⁴ For further details see Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, Revised edition, New York, 1926, Ch. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

the last resort of the dependent pauper, almshouse numbers are no indication of the extent of pauperism in the United States. The best we can do is to take figures from a few states which keep fairly good statistics and from private organizations.

A survey in Newburgh, New York, showed that 5 per cent of the population in that city received charitable relief from December, 1912, to April, 1913. In 1912 2.8 per cent of the population of Springfield, Illinois, received relief from either public or private sources. In New York in 1911, 2.33 per cent of the population of the state received public poor relief.

In 1922 family welfare societies in 204 cities of this country assisted nearly 3 per cent of the population of those cities.⁶ We shall not be beyond the mark if we estimate that somewhere between 3 and 6 per cent of the population of the country are dependent upon some source or another for help some time during each year.

Social and Economic Cost of Poverty and Dependency. In England and Wales in 1923 the relief of the poor cost £21,934,437 sterling. In addition old age pensions cost £19,868,603 sterling, while £41,573,058 sterling were paid out for unemployment benefits. Not all of the latter amount, however, can be charged to the relief of dependents since some of this amount came from contributions of the workers themselves. However, for poor relief and old age pensions a total, the equivalent of \$298,508,683, was paid out by England and Wales in 1923 for the relief of the indigent. This amount is almost two and one-half times that of 1912.

The cost of dependency in the United States cannot be so well stated. As long ago as 1911 in New York State, a total of \$6,504,453, or an average of \$7.14, if taxed upon every inhabitant of the state, was paid out for the relief of the poor. In 1921 Indiana spent a total of \$2,273,480 for the relief of her dependents out of public taxes. In 1921-1922 Wisconsin paid out of public taxes for the care of dependents \$6,500,000. Illinois in 1914 and 1915 spent \$3,870,750. In 1910 a total of 4,815 different benevolent institutions reported by the Bureau of the Census of the United States expended \$111,498,155. In 1923 over a thousand private charitable corporations in Massachusetts spent over \$33,000,000, and in 1922, 62 community funds received a total of \$25,000,000 in cities of the United States. It has been estimated that private social work in the United States owns property worth from two and one-half to three billion dollars and that the annual cost of running these organizations is

⁶ Gillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40.

not far from three-quarters of a billion dollars. The family welfare associations in 204 cities of the United States in 1922 spent \$7,900,000. These cities comprised a population of 29,744,000 people. It has been estimated that the total charity budget for the United States in 1920 was \$1,700,000,000.⁷ These figures give us no adequate conception of the total amount of money spent on dependents in the United States. They do suggest, however, that the total sum is an enormous amount.

Consider, however, the social cost in addition to the economic. What does it mean—no matter whether the cause is the individual's own incapacity or lack of frugality, or social circumstances and economic conditions—that an army of people every year have to depend upon someone other than themselves or their relatives for help? Consider what it means in terms of childhood deprived of opportunities, of sickness which has brought many of these people to need, of the destruction of ambition, of the loss of hope, of despair, of vice, the sense of futility, and the lack of that self-esteem—all of which are essential to good citizenship. Consider the slums where these people live, and the bad housing in which they abide, the lack of sanitation, the dirt, the squalor, and all that attends such conditions. Picture to yourselves also the economic inefficiency which lies back of this dependency. Think of the changing jobs which has marked the history of these dependent families. Consider the hopelessness with which they look forward to old age, the destruction of aspiration on the part of their children for something better than their parents had, and the denial of opportunity. Think of the misery and despair of which these things are but indications.

Then, above this mass of dependents behold the army of the poverty-stricken, who are not so degraded in spirit, have not lost ambition, have just fallen below the poverty line, and who are struggling against adverse circumstances to attain something of their dreams of prosperity.

Moreover, consider the light which this mass of poverty and dependency throws upon our social stupidity. If we were really a far-sighted people, should we not begin to appreciate that the prevention of poverty and dependency is one of the first steps to economic independence and prosperity? Are not the sums we pay for the care of the pauper a measure of the price of our neglect and do they not constitute an indictment of our vision? How little insight into causes of social conditions have we when we allow such things to happen without more regard for the consequences! How little social statesmanship we have shown is indicated by these impressive figures. We go on allowing people to drift down from

⁷ Gillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

self-support and independence to poverty and dependency year after year and do so little to prevent it. If we looked at the matter simply from the standpoint of good business would we not make an effort to stop this enormous drain upon the resources of the financially able? The ordinary business man is not concerned about it; he cries out against high taxes and forgets that from ten to twelve cents of every dollar of taxes is paid for the support of those who have been brought to their present state by reason of his neglect. We have great regard for the engineer in building bridges, constructing roads, and making machines; we do not seem to know that there is such a thing as social engineering. The application of science to the prevention of human misery, the destruction of homes, and the impairment of human efficiency has only just begun to be appreciated by even intelligent people and has not yet been thought of by most of our population.

CLASSES OF THE POVERTY-STRICKEN AND DEPENDENT

The poverty-stricken and dependent fall into many classes. Only a few of these can be mentioned here. Perhaps the outstanding classes are: (1) the aged; (2) the dependent children, normal and illegitimate; (3) the sick; (4) the mentally defective and diseased; (5) the unemployed. Let us look at each of these classes briefly in order that we may visualize more concretely the conditions under which these various people become poverty-stricken or dependent.

Dependent Children. All children by the very nature of their age are dependent upon someone. When their parents or other natural supporters, however, are able to care for them, the financial aspect of dependency is not important. The only problem then is as to the quality of upbringing which the family is suited to give them. You may have problems in such families, but not problems of dependency.

Of dependent children there are a number of classes. A dependent child may have been born in wedlock but his parents may no longer be able to care for him unassisted, or he may have been born out of wedlock and be dependent. With our present social views as to the status of the illegitimate, the latter is the much more difficult one to handle. Again, the child may be classified as a dependent child even though he is living with one or both of his parents, or he may be an orphan dependent child. In spite of these distinctions, however, the problems connected with dependent children are two: (1) The problem of financial support to enable the child to have the opportunities necessary for his proper development, and (2) social surroundings which will provide for the

proper mental, moral, and social development of the child so that he may become a useful citizen.

The problem of the financial support of the dependent child is not a negligible item. It costs more to bring the progeny of human beings from birth to adulthood than that of any other animal. A pig becomes a hog in about three months; a colt matures into a horse in about two years; it takes twenty-odd years to raise a baby to adulthood. The significance of this prolongation of infancy for the mental and moral development of human beings was pointed out long ago by John Fiske. A human being is so much the product of his social environment that it requires a great many years to fix in him the habits and ideas necessary to function properly in human society. At the basis of that, however, is the fact that biologically he matures very much more slowly. These two things go hand in hand. A recent study has been made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company as to how much it costs to raise a child from infancy to eighteen years of age. The conclusion was based upon a study of families with an average income of \$2,500. It was found that the cost of rearing a child to that age was \$7,250. This figure does not include the cost to the community in the shape of education and other public services, but the cost to the family alone. It is apparent at once that families with small incomes are much more likely to produce dependent children for the community to take care of than large income families. While the lack of money is not the only factor that produces child dependency, yet it is apparent that without a proper family income it is impossible to give the children proper attention, provide education, a share in the elements of culture, and to generate that self-respect and self-confidence which every child ought to have.

A much more difficult problem in the care of dependent children is to provide them with social surroundings which will conduce to their proper development. Take, for example, the dependent child with defective heredity. In providing the proper surroundings for that child this fact must be kept clearly in mind. Again, these dependent children have been taken out of family relationships in many cases to which they have partially adapted themselves. A certain set has been given to their habits, certain mental characteristics have been given expression, a certain emotional tone has been developed. If the child is found a home outside of its own family, all these things must be taken into consideration in finding a new social atmosphere in which he can develop with the utmost promise. I repeat what I have said on this subject in another connection: "Many children in normal family life go wrong. Parents do not know how to

handle them, their adjustment to society and its ideals and standards is not accomplished always even when they are living with their parents. How much more important that the children who have been deprived of normal home conditions be handled with great care and understanding, and how doubly important is it that those who have charge of them should be of an understanding heart."⁸

The Illegitimate Child. Not all illegitimate children are dependent children. The likelihood of dependency, however, is much greater in these cases than in those born in wedlock. It is estimated that 32,000 white children in this country are born of unmarried mothers every year. In Boston, 1 out of every 23 births, and in Massachusetts 1 in every 44 was illegitimate in the years just before the World War.⁹ Public sentiment at the present time condemns most of the innocent children to a state of disgrace, and the laws in most states place almost the entire burden of support and practically the entire disgrace upon the mother.

The burden which an illegitimate birth places upon the mother is indicated by what was shown to have happened in a study of 163 cases in Chicago. In Illinois the law provides that in case of illegitimacy the father can be made to pay \$100 for the first year of the child's life, and \$50 for each of the succeeding nine years, amounting to \$550 in all. Yet, out of the 163 cases studied, this maximum payment of \$550 was ordered in only 17 cases, and in only 12 cases was it actually lived up to.¹⁰ Moreover, since some cities have shown that from 40 to 45 per cent of the unmarried mothers are also without question so low in grade mentally as to make life under institutional care the only happy one for themselves and the most economical and the only safe arrangement for society, it is clear that it is somewhat impossible to hope that these unmarried mothers can take care of their babies financially and provide them with the proper social development.

Methods of Caring for Dependent Children. Various methods of care have been developed in the history of human society. The orphanage is probably the oldest. Such institutions were to be found in the Roman Empire and in early Christianity. The Church in the middle ages increased the number and it continues as one of the favorite church charities down to the present time. While it may still have a place for certain types of problem children, opinion is now veering away from it. A second method of caring for dependent children was the almshouse. While at one time

⁸ Gillin, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

⁹ *Illegitimacy as a Child Welfare Problem*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 66, Pt. 1, Washington, 1920; Pt. 2, Washington, 1921.

¹⁰ Bowen, Louise H., *A Study of Bastardy Cases*, Chicago, 1914, pp. 10-22.

in even American history large numbers of children were cared for in the almshouse, in 1923 only 1.1 per cent of the inmates of the almshouses of the United States were children, in spite of the fact that in 1913 only 14 states had excluded children from the almshouses. A third method was by means of state schools or homes for dependent children. In 1910, 18 states had such public institutions. Experience has shown, however, that such institutions tend to become filled up with children who are non-placeable. A fourth method of caring for dependent children was county and city children's homes. In 1910 there were 92 of these homes in three states—Ohio, Indiana, and Connecticut. From the standpoint of pauper child care they are failures. A fifth method is placing or boarding children out. This method has been in use for a long time, but because of the lack of supervision, lack of investigation of the homes into which these children were placed, and the lack of close supervision afterwards, until recently it has not been a success. To-day it is looked upon as the most important method of caring for mentally normal dependent children. A sixth method has come into vogue in the last few years, namely, the granting of what has been called mothers' pensions to the person having charge of the child. If the home in which the child is to be found and the mother or other person in charge is a fit person to have charge of the child, and if the administration is carefully guarded, this is a very hopeful method of taking care of dependent children.

Principles of Child Care. In caring for dependent children, whether born in wedlock or illegitimate, the following principles have appeared as the result of experience:

1. By reason of the high death-rate of infants it is important that they be kept with their mothers and breast-fed if possible until they are at least six months old. At the present time, after all of the work of the last few years in infant welfare, one out of fourteen of all children born dies before the end of the first year of life. The primary principle, therefore, is to take such measures as will insure the survival of the child.

2. Dependent children should have financial support and adequate care whether placed in free homes, boarded out, or given mothers' pensions. That fundamental principle must be kept in mind. Unless support is adequate to provide for food, clothing, shelter, educational opportunities, some degree of culture, kindness, sympathy, and education, the social purpose of child care will not be served.

3. Unless the child is mentally defective or disabled in some way and therefore constitutes a problem child in a special sense, he should be found a normal family home. Normal children cannot be raised successfully *en*

masse in an institution. Individual attention and care in the home atmosphere is essential. Moreover, this home must have the elements for successful development of the character if it is to succeed in producing a useful citizen. The careful investigation which is now carried on by child-placing agencies and the equally careful follow-up supervision are intended to make sure that these fundamentals of care and treatment are secured. These principles apply to the illegitimate child as well as to the child born in wedlock.

The Mentally Defective and the Mentally Diseased. The mentally defectives are likely to become dependent because they do not have the mentality to compete with their normal fellows in the struggle for existence. They find their way into almshouses, or are cared for by public outdoor relief, or charitable relief, or by private agencies, or are sent to state institutions where they have to be cared for by the public. The insane and epileptic likewise in many cases are incapable of caring for themselves.

Let us now turn to some figures which will indicate the number of these mentally defective and mentally diseased persons in the population of England and of the United States. In 1906 it was estimated that half of one per cent of the whole population of England and Wales were mentally defective. Of this number 44.45 per cent required some kind of care. They were dependent and had to be cared for by the public.

In the United States it is estimated that the feeble-minded make up from 2 to 4 per 1000 of the population, or a little less than that of England and Wales. In addition to these patently feeble-minded it has been estimated that between 2 and 6 per cent of the population of our country are so deficient in intelligence that in the complex conditions of city life to-day they find difficulty in supporting themselves and conducting their lives in accordance with our social standards.¹¹

In Great Britain in 1908 the insane numbered 3.2 per 1000 of the population. In that same year 12.1 per cent of the total pauperism in the United Kingdom was caused by the dependency of the insane and idiot poor. On January 1, 1923, in the institutions for the insane of the United States were 267,617 persons, or 2.42 per 1000 of the population.

Epilepsy in the United States is to be found in 1 out of every 500 of the inhabitants, while in Switzerland it rises to 2.57 per 1000.¹²

These figures make apparent the fact that these mentally defective and mentally diseased persons in our population constitute a serious problem

¹¹ Davies, M. R., *Social Control of the Feeble-minded*, New York, 1923, Chs. 1, 12.

¹² Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, Revised edition, New York, 1926, p. 355.

which as yet has not been adequately dealt with. Consider the significance of the fact that at least 6 or 7 out of every 1000 people in the United States are feeble-minded, insane or epileptic. Furthermore, in view of the fact that a great many of these people are such by reason of heredity, it shows that we have a eugenic problem in connection with them which is of the greatest importance. They reproduce without prudence and in spite of an enormous infant death-rate, they bring to maturity more children per family than other people. They cast upon society an increasing burden for their care. The feeble-minded and the epileptic are more likely to become parents of illegitimate children, are vicious in other ways more readily than normal people, and must be cared for in some way or else they would perish.

At the present time not more than one out of 10 of the feeble-minded are segregated, and probably not more than that proportion of the epileptics. In some of our states we are taking proper care of the insane, except that often they are discharged and are allowed to reproduce children even though they have a bad history of hereditary insanity. They constitute a great class of economic incapables and socially provide problems which are very difficult to handle.

The feeble-minded can be handled from the eugenic point of view only by some method that will prevent their reproduction. They can be segregated into institutions and colonies where the higher grades can make their living and some of them can be trained for certain vocations in which they can make their way on parole. Greater numbers could be let out into society after being properly trained if they were sterilized. A great deal of prejudice, however, exists against sterilization, and it is not making the headway it deserves. However, just recently the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that sterilization laws relating to the feeble-minded are constitutional. In this country we have attempted to take care of the insane by hospitals for those that may be curable and asylums for the chronic cases. No widespread effort has been made to sterilize the insane who have a history of hereditary insanity. This should be done or they should be kept in an institution where they cannot reproduce. The epileptic is particularly to be pitied. Many of these except for a short time after seizure are quite capable of work and apparently are normal persons. Yet these people find it difficult to hold a job. They suffer loss of self-respect and usually steadily deteriorate in mind. In 1918 only 14 states had provided special care for the epileptics.¹³ These people can best be cared for in colonies in which they can work and in

¹³ Pollock and Furbush, *Mental Hygiene*, January, 1919, p. 78.

which they can be properly treated for their disease. A very small proportion of them are curable, but they can be made happy and useful. Colony care has also been provided in some states for the insane and the feeble-minded. These colonies of people working out in the open have proved themselves to be very practicable agencies for handling these defective and diseased people. They constitute a problem which challenges our very best thought.

Progress has been made in an understanding of insanity in recent years which shows that much of it can be prevented. We are giving a great deal of attention to physical hygiene. We now know enough to proceed on a program of mental hygiene which, if it is carried out in wide areas and under proper auspices, will forestall the necessity of sending many people to institutions for the insane.

The Aged. Another class of dependents is composed of the aged. Only less pitiable than the dependent child is the old person who is nearing the end of his years and has no provision for his care. He may have been, on the one hand, a worthless member of society, or on the other, a useful citizen, who in his later years has lost his fortune or was unable to save for old age, or has been deprived of his friends and relatives. Nothing can be sadder than the sight of some of these decent, respectable old people in our almshouses. Yet the census reports show that with increasing age an ever larger proportion of the old people are inmates of poorhouses. Thus at from 45 to 49 years of age they constitute 116.1 per 100,000 of that age of the population, while at the age from 65 to 69, 616.7 per 100,000 of the population are in almshouses, and at 80 over 1,661 per 100,000 of the population find their last refuge in the poorhouse. In 1915, 18.2 per cent of the total population of Massachusetts 65 years of age or over were dependent. In Ohio, in 1919, a study in Hamilton and Cincinnati showed that from 15 to 25 per cent of the people over 50 were dependent upon relatives or friends, while the Pennsylvania Old Age Pension Commission stated that 43 per cent of the aged population 50 years of age or over in that state had no other means of support than their own earnings. Moreover, with the increase in the length of life the number of old people naturally increases. Consequently, we shall have to plan for the care of a greater number as time goes on.¹⁴

How Are Old People Cared For in the United States? (1) *Savings.* Why should not everyone save for old age? This has been looked upon as the country of opportunity where everyone who wishes could get a job,

¹⁴ Dublin, L. T., "Old Age an Increasing Problem," *Survey*, August 15, 1926, p. 545.

where good wages are the rule, and where everybody prospers who is not worthless. That is the popular notion. Nevertheless, as we have seen, over two-fifths (43 per cent), of the population in Pennsylvania over fifty years of age has no means of support except their own earnings. Doubtless some have no savings because they have not saved when they could. Every study, however, that has been made of the aged has shown large numbers who either have been unable to save because of small earnings, or because of the necessity of caring for other relatives during their best earning days.¹⁵ Sixty-two per cent of the non-dependent people studied in Pennsylvania were property-less.¹⁶

In a recent study of women shoe workers in Lynn, Massachusetts, it was found that the amounts which they had saved seemed extraordinarily small. 257 of them unmarried or widowed were studied. Only half of these had saved anything. One-quarter had no more than \$500, and of the 15 per cent who had accumulated more than \$1,000, only 6 exceptional women had managed to save over \$3,000. Nearly one-half (44 per cent) had no insurance, and only one-tenth of the whole number carried policies of more than \$500. The reason for such small savings is found in small earnings. Of 403 women who reported their earnings from January to December, 1920, 91 per cent earned less than \$1,000, or less than an average weekly wage of \$19.00.¹⁷

(2) *The Almshouse.* The almshouse or poorhouse is the last resort of the dependent in the United States. At the present time more than one-half of the poorhouse inmates in this country are homeless and helpless old folks. Very many of them, of course, are not of the highest social standing. The stigma which these give the poorhouse render it in many places abhorrent to respectable old people. However, in some of our states, the movement has developed to make them boarding homes for old folks without relatives or friends and to improve the character of the service rendered by them.

(3) Church organizations, lodges, private philanthropies, and private individuals have established homes for the aged for respectable old people. Many of these are of a very fine character. The chief difficulty, however, is that often they have an entrance fee which many people cannot pay and furthermore are quite inadequate in number, therefore touching only a fringe of the problem of the aged poor.

(4) Many old people are provided for by outdoor relief, i.e., assist-

¹⁵ *Report of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions*, Harrisburg, 1919, p. 11.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ Channing, "Savings for Old Age of Women Shoe Workers," *Survey*, September 16, 1921, p. 680.

ance given to them in their own homes, by private organizations or by public officials. If this is carefully administered and adequate it provides for a class of old people who may have a little home, but have not enough income to care for themselves, and enables them to continue to live together until the infirmities of old age demand the care of other people.¹⁸

(5) *Care by Relatives*. Care by relatives is the oldest method and by far the best, when it is possible, for the care of the aged dependents. Many of them are cared for in this way. They live with their sons or daughters, or other relatives, and while often they are serious burdens, sometimes they pay their way. However, it must not be overlooked that there are a great many cases where support by relatives is impossible. The children may have married and have a family which they consider their first responsibility, or the relations between the old people and the children are not agreeable. The poorhouses have an unusual number of unmarried and widowed old people. Wherever possible relatives should care for their aged dependents.

(6) *Insurance*. Insurance against the necessities of old age through endowment and annuity policies is an excellent plan. The difficulty is, however, that every study that has been made has shown such large numbers of people who are unable to buy insurance without depriving themselves and their families of the necessities of life.

(7) *Industrial Pensions*. In 1925, 245 firms in the United States had established industrial pensions or service pensions. Twenty-nine of these are concerns which employ over 25,000 persons each, and together account for nearly three-fourths of the total number of employees covered. In December, 1924, the total number of pensioners of all these firms was only 35,953.¹⁹ Since workers often change firms this plan does not meet the exigencies of the situation with respect to industrial workers.

(8) *Public Service Pensions*. The best known form of public service pension is the soldiers' and sailors' pension in this country. Had it not been for these soldiers' pensions doubtless many more of the old people would have had to go to the poorhouse. As administered, however, it has been a very costly and often a wasteful expenditure of money for the aged veteran.

A few of our states have civil pensions for their employees. The number of the aged, however, covered by these pension systems is rather limited, even in the states where they are in effect.

¹⁸ Bardwell, "Almshouse Boarders," *Survey*, March 15, 1926, p. 687.

¹⁹ *Industrial Pensions in the United States*, National Industrial Conference Board, New York, 1925, p. 508.

In some states firemen, policemen, and teachers are given old age pensions after reaching a certain age. In 1910 the United States Bureau of Labor reported 167 police and fire pension funds. In 1907 there were 96 teachers' retirement systems in the United States, 22 of these being state systems and 74 local systems. These pension systems covered a total of 332,554 teachers, or nearly one-half the total number of teachers in the United States at the present time.

Since 1920 the Civil Service employees in the United States Government service have had a contributory retirement pension system.

(9) *Old Age Pensions.* With the number of the needy aged increasing, and with the example of old age pensions in some of the foreign countries, a movement for the enactment of old age pension laws in the various states of the United States has grown in the last few years. Such laws have already been enacted in a number of our states. Various restrictions are thrown about the plan, such as proof of need, respectable life for ten years previous, residence, and a number of others. These plans are in an experimental stage in the United States and time will be needed to show their results. In theory old age pensions are thoroughly sound. In actual practice they will probably be shown to be workable or unworkable according to the wisdom and care with which they are administered.²⁰

CHIEF FACTORS IN POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY

No one case can show all the factors in poverty and dependency, yet a case reveals the concrete realities of the situation better than statistics. Consider the various factors in the following case:

"The John Thomas Family. John Thomas had come to an eastern city of the United States from Wales when he was a lad of eighteen. He had been brought up in a mining community in Wales, and mining was the only occupation he knew. After landing he went to a mining community in Pennsylvania where he got work in a coal mine. He was sturdy, industrious, and a likeable chap, although he was not especially ambitious and had not many of the social graces. He had had only a common school education but was fairly bright and quick to learn.

"At the age of 21 he married a girl of 18, whose family lived in this mining community. Her parents were a rather roving, somewhat ne'er-do-well family. The father was a hard drinker and a common laborer, frequently in debt, sometimes in trouble, and consequently the family lived on the verge of poverty all the time. Her mother was a slovenly woman with a large family. She was not very bright. The home was located in a rather poor part of the community

²⁰ For a detailed discussion of these various plans for taking care of the aged, see Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, Revised edition, New York, 1926, Ch. 18.

and was poorly kept. A younger sister of Thomas' wife was so mentally defective that she had been sent to one of the state institutions for the feeble-minded. Another was an epileptic in the state institution for that class of defectives. A brother who could not get on well in school had become a hard drinker, was sexually loose and became a vagrant. Another brother became a common laborer and lived a hand-to-mouth existence. One sister was bright and became a school teacher, who in time became the chief support of her parents. Two sisters and three brothers had died before attaining maturity—one in convulsions, the others from scarlet fever and diphtheria. One sister who was rather slow witted at an early age had become the mother of an illegitimate child.

"John's family from all that could be learned of his history from his wife, had been a respectable miner's family in Wales. However, in the family there had appeared a history of three persons disposed to tuberculosis. Two sisters and a brother had died of that disease before John came to the United States. His parents also had died shortly before he left for this country, his father having been killed in a mine accident and his mother dying of an attack of pneumonia. John was well but not robust.

"When this family came to the attention of a social agency in a mid-western city, there were five children. The oldest was a girl of eighteen, the mother of an illegitimate child. The next, a boy of sixteen, not very strong and of feeble intellect, who had never been able to get beyond the fourth grade in school. The next was a girl of fifteen who was up to grade in school but not very well and with a tendency to resist parental control. The two younger children were two boys of ten and seven respectively who were weakly and the older one was behind grade in school.

"In 1903 a strike occurred in the mines where John was working, and he was out of work for a considerable time. For some time he had been somewhat discouraged with mining, his health was not of the best, and he desired to get into some occupation in the sunlight. Therefore he moved his family to a farm some distance away which he rented on shares. With what little money he had been able to save he purchased the necessary animals and implements to enable him to run the place. During the five years on this farm he did quite well and had saved about two thousand dollars. He decided to go west and try farming in a better country. Accordingly he and his family moved to South Dakota, rented a farm for a few years, prospered, and finally bought a quarter section of land, paid down \$2,500.00 and promised to pay the balance, \$1,000.00 per year, plus interest and taxes. He was doing fairly well when in the first year the hog cholera swept off most of his fine herd and left him behind in his payments. The next year proved to be equally as disastrous by reason of a severe drought which left him nothing for his work.

"The next year there was a scourge of army-worms which destroyed part of his wheat and the Hessian fly and the rust hurt badly what was left, so that he had but a small fraction of a crop, and that was of poor quality. That fall when his corn was in blossom a severe hailstorm battered it into the ground, and, since he had no insurance, left him so far in arrears that the skin-flint creditor foreclosed on the farm. Discouraged, he sold his stock and farm implements and after he had paid his debts he had \$400.00 left. With this

sum he decided to go to a large city of the Middle West and get employment in a factory. The War was at its height, and at once he got a job at fair wages although he had never worked at anything but mining and farming. This work was common labor in the factory but paid a fair remuneration. The family had moved into a rather poor house in a crowded section of the city so that John could be near his work. Here again ill luck was his fortune. One day his shirt sleeve caught in an unguarded machine and his arm was so badly injured that he was idle for about five months. His compensation cared for the family during this time, and he returned to his old position without serious disability. In the factory, however, his health began to fail. He contracted a cold which left him with a severe cough which racked him night and day. Moreover, about this time his wife's health became poor and the doctor finally advised an operation. This required much expense and the household ran down. While the wife had never been an excellent housekeeper, knew little of how to save and how to prepare food tastefully and economically, they had been able to get along because until the disaster came on the farm John had earned fair wages. Mr. Thomas kept to his occupation until the slump in industry occurred in 1920. Then he was let out with thousands of others. Weak and discouraged he sought work without success.

"While the mother was in the hospital the oldest girl who had charge of the household began to go out with an attractive but wild boy of the neighborhood. Her father warned her of this boy without other effect than to irritate her. The household was neglected, the younger children left without guidance and control except when the father was present. The fifteen year old girl did her best to keep the household going, but was not strong, was busy in school most of the time, and could not manage to meet all of the requirements of the task. The oldest girl was sullen and irritated at the other children. She helped little and was gone most of the time from the household on one excuse or another. For a short time she obtained a job in a ten cent store but was out late at night and would tell her father and the children nothing of her whereabouts. After the mother returned home this daughter was found to be pregnant and some months later gave birth to an illegitimate child. When her condition was discovered, the father had gone to the boy with whom she had kept company and tried to persuade him to marry her. Under duress he promised but at once left for parts unknown. The mother was so ill after she returned that she was unable to look after the home. The younger girl, under the strain of the burden that she had been trying to carry, became ill and ultimately had to be sent to a sanitarium for the tubercular. The eldest boy became unmanageable, was taken into juvenile court, and placed on probation. The ten year old boy was getting into mischief in the neighborhood and the younger child was so woefully neglected as to attract the attention of the neighbors. Finally, unable to find work in the community, and discouraged by the difficulties which he faced, and sick, John Thomas set out one afternoon to go to another town in which he thought he might be able to find work. He never came back, and all efforts to find him proved unavailing. A social agency through the neighbors became interested in the youngest child, and another agency made arrangements for the tubercular girl to go to the sanitorium. Finally, in the dire circumstance consequent upon the desertion of John Thomas, the Family

Welfare Society took hold of the family in the endeavor to work out a solution. With that solution we are not here concerned."²¹

Let us analyze this case and see the factors which brought this family to need.

Hereditary Factors. Observe that in the family of John Thomas there is a history of tuberculosis. While one cannot be certain that the predisposition to tuberculosis was hereditary in this family, the case suggests that explanation. It is well known that some people resist tuberculosis and others are predisposed to it. The difference seems to be due to inherited characteristics. Even clearer is the inheritance of mental defect on the wife's side. This seems to be hereditary because it appears in the children of the John Thomas family as well as in the family of Mrs. Thomas. From various studies which have been made, especially of dependents, it appears that 25 per cent of the paupers in almshouses are feeble-minded, and that 10 per cent of the public outdoor paupers are mentally defective, and perhaps 5 per cent of the paupers relieved by private organizations are feeble-minded. Of all the feeble-minded, it has been estimated that from one-half to two-thirds are such by reason of heredity. The remainder is due to accidents at birth, prenatal conditions, and the results following sickness or accidents in childhood. The hereditary factors in poverty and dependency can only be attacked successfully by preventing reproduction. For those already here efforts should be made to adjust the environment to them so that they can make the most of their poor abilities and contribute to their own support as much as possible.

Industrial Conditions. In the John Thomas case appears a strike in the coal mines as the first step in the demoralization of the family. Such strikes are frequent in the history of American industry. From 1881 to 1905 in the United States there were 36,757 strikes affecting 181,407 establishments and resulting in the throwing out of work of 8,703,824 workers. In addition during the same period there were 1,546 lockouts in 18,547 establishments involving 825,610 workers. The average duration of the strike was 25.4 days. In the establishments affected by the lockouts, the average days closed were 84.6. Happily the number of strikes from 1916 to 1924 on the whole has been gradually decreasing.²²

Adverse Climatic Conditions. Had it not been for the adverse physical conditions experienced by John Thomas in his farming operations, the whole history of the family might have been quite different. The children reared in the country might have turned out very much different than

²¹ Gillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-129.

²² Gillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

they did after they returned to the city. He seemed to be doing well when the hog cholera swept off most of his herd and the severe drouth left him nothing for his work. Then the scourge of army-worms and the Hessian fly and rust destroyed most of his crops. Finally a hailstorm destroyed his corn and left him badly in debt.

No one knows the extent of damage caused by climate and natural disasters and the pests which afflict the farmer, but there is no question that it is very large.

In this case also we see the physical factor of sickness. Possibly had Mrs. Thomas remained well and John himself had continued to be healthy, disaster would not have come to the family in the city.

We have already noticed that three-fourths of the cases which come to the charity organization societies come by reason of sickness. When we further consider that in the United States the average member of the population loses 13 days a year from sickness and that the cost of preventable sickness and death amounts to between a billion and a half and two billion dollars a year, one can easily see the influence of sickness in producing poverty and dependency.

Unemployment. In the Thomas case, as in so many other cases, unemployment was the final demoralizing step in the family situation. Discouraged with all the sad circumstances which had preceded, and unable to get a job, John Thomas left his family, ostensibly to seek work, and never returned. There are many cases, however, where the man does not desert, but is unable to make a living because he cannot find employment. Next to sickness probably unemployment is the most fertile cause of dependency. Careful studies have shown that unemployment ranges from 2 per cent in the most prosperous times among the skilled workers to as high as 25 per cent in times of industrial depression and among the unskilled laborers. Until society finds some way by which it can reduce unemployment, poverty and dependency are inevitable for large numbers of people especially those least capable for the intensive struggle for existence.

The Labor of Women and Children. The Thomas case provides illustrative material for the effect of the labor of children outside the home. The oldest girl began to work under the pressure of family need. Working itself is a consequence of certain economic conditions in the family. However, freedom from home restraint and subjection to influence outside the home conduced to the loosening of family control and final demoralization.

Every study made anywhere in this country has shown that the labor

of women and children demoralizes the family. The children's physical, mental, and moral welfare is neglected when the mother works outside; often the mothers impair their health, and child labor is usually a sign of inadequate income in the family.²³

Inadequate Education. This case shows also the unhappy results that come from inadequate education. Thomas had no broad foundation educationally and was not trained for any particular skilled trade. He illustrates the abbreviated life of American children especially of the lower economic classes, the lack of a vocational aim in much of our elementary education, and the consequent blind-alley jobs for himself and his children.

Industrial Accidents. Getting his sleeve caught in an unguarded machine in the factory in which he worked was one more circumstance which diminished the income and discouraged the worker. It is estimated that there are about 75,000 deaths from industrial accidents in the United States every year. A half million more workers are annually incapacitated with a loss to the nation from such accidents of not less than \$125,000,000 a year. A case study a few years ago in Boston showed that 13 per cent of the intake of the family social agencies of that City was made of families where industrial accidents or industrial disease was a factor.²⁴

There are various other causes of poverty and dependency, but these are sufficient to give an insight into the tangled complex of conditions which bring about demoralization of individuals and families in their struggle to make a living. Often they are as inevitable as fate; sometimes they are the result of the individual's lack of forethought, and prudence. In the complex conditions of modern society, especially in our cities, it requires careful consideration and adjustment for the individual to find his way from early manhood or womanhood to successful independence. Unless one comes into the world naturally equipped with intelligence, certain characteristics which produce sound judgment, and is trained to know the complex conditions of the world in which he makes his struggle for life, he is bound to fail. Natural ability must be trained. Out of experience must come lessons for the future. The experience of older and wiser men and women should be made available to the youth as he starts out on his career. Our policy in the past has been to let each man struggle for himself, on the theory that thus the most capable would achieve their ends and the less capable would perish. However, it has been discovered that in this struggle for existence, unmodified by mutual aid and sympa-

²³ For further discussion see Gillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85.

²⁴ Pear, "How Boston Meets and Supports its Family Service Program," *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1925, p. 489.

thetic help, many who have fine abilities fall by the wayside also. Success or failure in life depend upon the combination of two sets of factors—the natural abilities which have been handed down to us by our parents, and the way in which these abilities are developed by our education, family experience, and life contacts with others. Our philosophy of “every fellow for himself and the Devil take the hindmost” is not suited to the complex conditions of modern life. Man ought to be able to select better than blind nature. Every effort ought to be made by society to give ability a chance. That does not mean, of course, that we should allow the congenitally defective and incapable to propagate and thus continue their stock. That is quite another matter from giving the capable every chance to make the most of their ability for the welfare of society. Many of our present arrangements, however, do not accomplish that purpose. We allow the defectives and degenerates to multiply without let or hindrance; we permit the naturally capable boy or girl to struggle without aid, to go into blind-alley jobs without advice, to live and work under conditions which promote disease and untimely death, and permit people to be overwhelmed by natural disasters and economic circumstance, who if they were given a chance, might well develop and achieve. What is needed is some social engineering first to discover and discriminate between the capable and the incapable, to throw about the incapable protection and direction of their poor capacities, but not permitting them to reproduce, and to give the capable a decent chance to achieve what is in them. While we are attempting it rather blunderingly, we are endeavoring to do some of these things through preventive medicine, the care of the sick, mental hygiene, old age pensions, free public education, various plans to prevent unemployment, and taxation systems devised to lay the heaviest burdens of taxation upon those most capable of paying. Much, however, yet remains to be done in the adjustment of social circumstance to individual in order to enable each individual to make the most of his capacities.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Define poverty; pauperism.
2. From the figures given in the text what proportion of the people in the United States would you say are in poverty? In pauperism?
3. Why are the people of a civilized country willing to allow conditions which produce poverty and dependency which cost such a great amount of money and suffering?
4. Why is it important that children be protected from subjection to stark poverty? How do you account for the fact that some children who grow up in poverty sometimes make very good citizens?
5. What sort of dependent children should be kept in an institution rather than placed in a good family? Why?
6. How could society prevent the tragedy of want and suffering that results from old age?
7. What factors in producing poverty and dependency seem to you the most important?

CHAPTER 25

THE PROBLEMS OF THE CRIMINAL AND THE DELINQUENT

In practice the distinction between what we now call the criminal and the delinquent is as old as the common law. Yet in actual treatment history shows that often the child was treated as an adult criminal, as if in total ignorance of the humane provisions of the common law. In England down to a very recent date children were confined in prison with adults and occasionally in some parts of our country children are still found in the county jails. However, a little over a century ago some people in this country began to be conscious of the difference between the criminal and the delinquent. In 1815 in New York City Thomas Eddy, a New York Quaker, and some of his friends began to discuss the importance of erecting a juvenile reformatory so that the children could be taken out of the common prisons.¹ It took a hundred years before all of the states but three provided juvenile reformatories for their delinquents.

In this sense of the term, then, the distinction between the term "criminal" and "delinquent" in the law is a matter of age. It was so in the old Common Law. Any child below the age of seven was not considered capable of committing a crime. The reason for this was that it was believed that the knowledge of the difference between right and wrong was necessary to commit crime. Upon this distinction between right and wrong rested the theory of responsibility. Hence, in legal practice, the criminal is an adult in most of our states above the age of eighteen, while below that age he is a delinquent. A criminal, according to our legal notions, may be punished; a delinquent is taken in charge by the court for his protection.

While the mere criterion of age will no longer hold as the mark of distinction between the criminal and the delinquent, in actual practice the distinction works out well. What about the feeble-minded person forty years old, but with the intelligence of a seven-year-old child? Is he a criminal or a delinquent? What about the adult insane person guilty of

¹ Flexner, Bernard, and Oppenheimer, Reuben, *The Legal Aspect of the Juvenile Court*, Children's Bureau Publication, No. 99, Washington, 1922, pp. 7, 8; Ives, George, *A History of Penal Methods*, London, 1914, pp. 179, 180, 126, 130, 234; Gillin, J. L., *Criminology and Penology*, New York, 1926, pp. 582, 790, 791.

a crime? As a matter of fact, the legal distinction between the criminal and the delinquent is sociologically unsound. Sociologically either a criminal or a juvenile delinquent is one who is guilty of acts believed, by a group which has the power to enforce its belief, to be injurious to society and therefore prohibited and the one who commits them punished. From the standpoint of the social purposes of punishment it makes no difference whether they are committed by a juvenile or an adult. It is fortunate, however, in view of the attitude taken toward the punishment of criminals, that the distinction between the criminal and the delinquent has been made. Such distinction has made possible the introduction of sociological methods of treating the delinquent and suggesting changes in the treatment of the adult criminal. Here, again, a little child has led us. Perhaps some day observation of the results of the treatment of juveniles will suggest sensible treatment of adults.

EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

How criminal are we? How can we find out? What does it cost to take care of our criminals and delinquents? Unfortunately, we cannot answer with exactitude any of these questions. In the United States from official figures we cannot do better than to say how many were committed to institutions for criminals and delinquents in a given census year. These figures, of course, do not tell us the amount of crime. They reveal only the numbers who have been convicted and sent to an institution. Besides these, very many have been charged with crime who have not been convicted. In addition to these, some were charged with crime, convicted, but were put on probation or had sentence suspended. In addition to all these many who committed acts contrary to law were for reason of insufficient evidence or other legal reasons dismissed. In addition other large numbers of perpetrators of criminal acts were not even discovered. Consequently these figures of commitments to institutions for delinquency and crime give us no adequate measure of the number of criminal acts committed in any year, or the number of individuals involved.

However, it comes to one with somewhat of a shock to learn that in 1910, 1 out of every 200 of our population was committed to some correctional or penal institution. Fortunately in 1923 this number had dropped to 1 in 325.

We ought, however, not to be too much perturbed by these figures, since in 1910 91 per cent, and in 1923, 89.5 per cent were sent to county and municipal institutions, while only 9 per cent in 1910 and 10.5 per cent in 1923 were sent to what we may call the higher correctional insti-

tutions. Furthermore, it must be remembered that in 1910 practically half of those sent to county and municipal, penal and correctional institutions were sent because of inability to pay a fine. We still have imprisonment for debt to the court.² Nevertheless, is it not ominous that so many of our citizens get into difficulty with the law one way or another in any given year? Homicide in our large cities has shown an increase since 1910, being 8.1 per 100,000 of population in 1911, 8.5 in 1916 to 1920, and 9.3 in 1921. One out of every 12,000 people in the United States is a victim of murder, whereas in Great Britain only one murder occurs to every 634,635 of the population.³

As an example of the contrast between this country and Great Britain it is interesting to notice that in 1916 Chicago had 36 times as many murders per 100,000 of population as London; Cleveland, Ohio, 30 times as many as London, considering the population in each, while Cleveland had more robberies and assaults to rob than all England, Scotland, and Wales put together. Moreover, our neighbor Canada had in 1921 no more prisoners than the single state penitentiary of Illinois.

The Cost of Crime in the United States. Various estimates have been made of the cost of crime in the United States. None of these pretend any great degree of accuracy. The estimates range all the way from three to ten billion dollars. On the basis of a study in Massachusetts, Mr. Spaulding in 1910 estimated that one-tenth of all the money raised for taxation purposes goes to the struggle with crime. Wisconsin in 1921 to 1922 showed that between five and six cents out of every dollar raised by taxation went in an effort to control the criminal.⁴

Whatever be the cost of our struggle with crime there is no question that it is a heavy burden upon the taxpayer and thus diverts money from other uses, such as health and education.

The Proportion of Each Class of Crime. In England about the year 1920, 8 per cent of the offenses were against the person, 18.5 per cent against property, and 73.5 per cent other offenses. In the United States more than one-third of the convictions in 1910 were for drunkenness, almost one-fifth for disorderly conduct, and about one-tenth for vagrancy. These three offenses in the aggregate accounted for 63.4 per cent or nearly two-thirds of the total. Larceny accounted for 8.6 per cent and assaults for 4.6 per cent.⁵

Is Crime Increasing or Decreasing? It is very difficult to be certain whether crime in this country and in other countries, also, is increasing

² Gillin, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

or decreasing. Since the World War a great furore has been raised concerning the increase of crime. This has been chiefly newspaper talk and there are but few adequate statistics which throw light upon the question. Except for the homicide death-rate the Federal Census Bureau does not afford us very much material. Miss Abbott has shown that the statistics in Chicago are so inadequate that no clear tendency can be made out.⁶ Mr. Fosdick, comparing the first quarter of each year from 1917 to 1920, and these results with the first quarter of 1921, believes that there has been a slight decrease in the crimes of robbery and assaults to rob, burglary and larceny, and murder, while there has been an increase of the number of automobiles driven away.⁷ We get used to crimes with which we are familiar. Their commission does not make an impression upon our imagination. However, new crimes impress us to such an extent that we feel there must be an increase of crime. Furthermore, the newspapers, in seeking for the new and the sensational, convey to the reader the impression that there is a great increase in crime. However, if one looks back over newspaper discussion and comment in other periods, he will find that every so often there has been a "crime wave." So far as one can tell from the figures, it has been largely psychological. The general impression is that a crime wave follows every war. That may be true. However, statistics are inadequate to prove it even for this recent period. In spite of the statistics quoted by the sensation mongers, the careful scholar has to admit that except for a few crimes there is very little evidence one way or the other.

Repeaters in Crime. One of the purposes of criminal justice and of the punishment of the criminal is to prevent a man who has once been convicted of crime from repeating his act. We call our institutions "correctional" institutions. How well do they "correct"? Let us see.

In Massachusetts in 1921 of all prisoners sent to the various institutions, 51.3 per cent were repeaters, while in 1922, 55.1 per cent were repeaters. In Wisconsin in 1920, of the inmates of the State Prison, 45 per cent, and of the Milwaukee House of Correction, 53.5 had been convicted of crime before. About the same time in West Virginia State Prison 51 per cent, and in the Georgia State Prison 42 per cent were "repeating the course." In Detroit about the year 1920, of 1800 unselected misdemeanants, 55.4 had had previous contact with the police or court. These figures represent an enormous failure. Practically half of these men

⁶ Abbott, "Recent Statistics relating to Crime in Chicago," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 13, November, 1922, pp. 322, 334, 335, and 345.

⁷ Fosdick, *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1922, p. 4.

have been in difficulty before. What a comment upon our methods of treating the criminal! What would happen if our high schools flunked half of those in the course each year? When our universities send home every year from 2 to 8 per cent of the students enrolled because they have "flunked out," sometimes a great cry is raised against the failure of our school system. What if the high schools and the universities flunked half of their students? And yet that is what these figures of recidivism really mean. Half of the criminals in our correctional institutions have "flunked the course" once or more.

Every study of recidivism shows that repetition of crime increases as the average mentality lowers. That has been found in a study of repeaters at Joliet, and by Goring in his study of English convicts, at Parkhurst Prison.⁸ What this means is that we are sending to our correctional institutions the failures of our schools and of our communities, and expecting them to do what the schools and the playgrounds, the homes, and the probation officials have failed to do. Naturally into our prisons will gravitate those who have failed to respond to every other influence to make them good citizens. No criticism should therefore lie against the people in correctional institutions for failures of these cases. On the other hand, however, these institutions should not let them out when they well know that they will fail again; yet in most of our states the criminal law provides for the ultimate termination of the sentence in most cases at a very definite period, whether the man has reformed or not. This is a great mistake, and accounts for a part of the repetition of criminality among the inmates of our institutions. Back they come again and again in spite of the fact that there is no hope of another term doing them any good. These are custodial cases who ought to be kept indefinitely within an institution.

In summary, then, the situation may be expressed as follows: (1) In 1923 and 1924 in normal schools and teachers' colleges there were enrolled 273,107; in colleges, universities, and professional schools 726,124; in all higher institutions of learning a total of 999,231. In 1923 there were committed to penal and correctional institutions of the United States 357,493. That is, over a third as many were committed to these institutions as were in all the institutions of higher learning. (2) We spend more on our struggle with criminals than on any other things except education and good roads. Hence, it must be one of our major social problems.

⁸ Ordahl, "A Study of Fifty-Three Male Convicts," *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. I, March, 1916, p. 13; Goring, *The English Convict*, London, 1913, p. 271.

(3) We do not know whether crime is increasing or decreasing, except such serious crimes as homicide which seems to be on the increase. (4) Approximately 50 per cent of those in our penal and correctional institutions are "repeating the course."

FACTORS IN THE MAKING OF THE CRIMINAL AND THE DELINQUENT

The conduct of every man, including the criminal, is the result in general terms, of two sets of factors. (1) The native characteristics of the individual handed down to him by heredity from his ancestors, and (2) the various external influences which play upon him during the period of his development. In order to make more precise the analysis of the factors producing the criminal, we may divide these two general classes into the following sections: (1) physical environment; (2) physical and mental characteristics of the individual; (3) hereditary characteristics, thus giving special emphasis to the physical and mental characteristics which are inherited in contrast with those which are developed on the basis of heredity through the influence of the environment; (5) economic factors; (6) social factors.

The Physical Factors; the Physical Environment. Early in the scientific study of crime and the criminal it was noticed that crimes vary with geography, the climate, the seasons, and the weather. Lombroso believed that he had discovered that in crimes against the person the minimum number occurred in the level parts of France, a slightly greater portion in the parts that were hilly, and the maximum number in the mountainous districts. On the other hand, his statistics seem to indicate that rape was more common in the level country than in the mountains and hills. Furthermore, he found that the districts of Italy most subject to malaria showed the maximum number of crimes against property. On the other hand, those parts of France and Italy where goiter prevailed, resulting in cretinism, had less than the average number of homicides, thefts, and sexual offenses.

Moreover, it was observed by certain students that countries with a warm climate have a higher rate of criminality against the person, while those in cool climates have a comparatively high rate of crimes against property. Again crimes vary with the seasons. In winter crimes against property prevail, while in summer the peak is reached in the crimes against the person. This variation of various kinds of crime according to the seasons led to Lacassagne's so-called "criminal calendar." According to this calendar infanticide holds first place in the months of January, Feb-

ruary, March, and April; homicide and assaults in July; patricides in January and October; rapes upon children in May, July, and August, with the minimum in December; rapes on adults reached their maximum in June and the minimum in November; while crimes against property seemed to reach the maximum in December and January.

As the result of the discussions which have grown out of these statistical findings it is now generally agreed that the effects of these physical factors are indirect rather than direct; *i.e.*, it is not that cold induces sluggishness, which lessens crime against the person but that the crimes against the person in cold regions and in the cold season are fewer because human contacts are less numerous during those periods and in those countries. Furthermore, crime against property increases in the cold climates and in the cold seasons because of the greater distress.

More recently some attention has been given to the relationship of the changes in the weather to criminality. Mr. Dexter studied the matter somewhat carefully and found that the number of arrests varied quite regularly with the temperature in any given place. He found that as the barometer fell the number of arrests rose. He thinks that this air pressure affects directly the nervous condition of people. He found that assaults vary inversely with the degree of humidity. He explains this on the basis of the depressing effect of a high degree of moisture in the atmosphere. He discovered that on the days when the winds are mild, that is, between 150 and 200 miles per day, there is a high pugnacity rate. During the days of calm and days of high winds, the number of arrests were less. He found that cloudy days showed the fewest number of personal encounters which attract the attention of police. Very much more careful investigations will have to be made, however, before these conclusions can be accepted at their face value. Here, too, it is probable that the weather affects conduct, on the whole, indirectly rather than directly. In general, then, we may hold, tentatively, that the physical environment affects man's conduct largely through its influence on his ways of getting a living, the form of occupation which these climates make possible, the unemployment and therefore the pressure of need due to seasonal occupations, and through the ease or difficulty with which a living is obtained, due to the richness or poverty of the natural resources and the ease with which the resources may be exploited.⁹

The Physical and Mental Characteristics of the Individual. Man in his physical and mental make-up is very much more complicated than any

⁹ For a more thorough discussion of the factors of the physical environment see Gillin, J. L., *Criminology and Penology*, New York, 1926, Ch. 5.

other animal. He has a depth and breadth of emotional expression impossible to the lower animals. His intellect enables him to discriminate, weigh, and decide a course of conduct in a very much more complex environment than the lower animals. His conduct, therefore, more largely than in the case of animals, is the result of his physical, emotional, and intellectual nature. His conduct is not so instinctively determined; his emotions are subject to control by his intellect, and consequently find expression in much more devious and complicated ways.

What are the chief physical and mental factors which seem to have unusual weight in the production of delinquents?

Consider first the physical characteristics of the individual. Society has set up certain standards in its requirements of a human being which can be met only by a fairly well developed physique. His physical organism must function in certain specific ways in order to meet these requirements. For example, he must have fairly good health; he must be physically well-formed and capable of certain economic activities, and his physical appearance within certain limits must make a pleasant impression upon those by whom he is surrounded in order to get along well economically and personally. If he is not strong enough to work at an occupation which will earn him a livelihood, he is handicapped on the economic side. If he has suffered disablement, either by disease or accident, it may be impossible for him to hold a job, or he may hold one which pays a very small wage. Economic pressure may become too great and he may, by reason of this fact, develop into a thief. Goring's study of the criminals in Parkhurst Prison, England, showed that the inmates were as a whole physically inferior to the general population of the same age. With the exception of those convicted of fraud, they are shorter in height and lighter in weight than non-criminals, and those convicted of violence to the person. The latter are stronger and have greater constitutional soundness than the members of the law-abiding communities. Thieves and burglars, who constituted 90 per cent of the criminals, and the incendiaries were the smallest and lightest of the various criminal classes.¹⁰ Similar studies in the United States have shown the same situation. Dr. Sleyster made a study of the convicts in the State Prison of Wisconsin and found that they averaged 1.4 inches shorter than the stature of the average Freshman at the University of Wisconsin, and 2 inches shorter than the average Harvard student. The Wisconsin convict lacked 1.3 inches of the height of the men and boys who enlisted

¹⁰ Goring, Charles, *The English Convict; A Statistical Study*, London, 1913, pp. 196, 197.

in the Civil War, and was 3 inches shorter than the fellows of the Royal Society of England and of English professional men.¹¹ Moreover, numerous studies of convicts have shown an unusual number of physical defects and diseases.

On the other hand, studies by Dr. Healy among juvenile delinquents in Chicago showed that 13 per cent had some abnormality of development as one of the probable causes of delinquency. From 50 to 64 per cent of the 2000 juvenile recidivists in Chicago and from 72 to 73 per cent of the females among them were overdeveloped physically.¹² In juveniles physical overdevelopment seems to result in sexual maturity before judgment and self-control have developed equally, and therefore leads to sex delinquency.

Recent studies on the endocrine glands, or the glands of internal secretion, seem to promise light upon the relationship of the functioning of these glands to crime. Research has not gone far enough yet, however, to make certain that the lack of the proper functioning of these glands leads to criminality.

The chief mental defects and characteristics which seem to have a bearing upon the making of the criminal are epilepsy, the insanities, and certain emotional disturbances which seem partly the result of inherent tendencies and partly the result of the individual's reaction to his life's experiences.

Mental defect, or feeble-mindedness, as a characteristic of delinquents and criminals in recent years has received marked attention. The figures differ with the examiner and with different parts of the country as well as with the type of crime. Goring in his study of 948 convicts found that the largest percentage of mental defects appeared among those guilty of setting fire to stocks (52.9 per cent). Then the percentages decrease for arson (16.7 per cent), rape on the child (15.8 per cent), robbery and violence (15.6 per cent), unnatural sexual offenses (14.3 per cent), blackmail (14.3 per cent), while burglary was very much less (10 per cent). Among those guilty of counterfeiting it was practically negligible (3.3 per cent). In the United States figures vary from prison to prison, one of the most conservative findings being that of Dr. Anderson in the correctional and penal institutions of Wisconsin. In the Wisconsin State prison only 12 per cent were feeble-minded, in 17 county jails

¹¹ Sleyster, "The Physical Bases of Crime as Observed by a Prison Physician," *Physical Bases of Crime, A Symposium*, Easton, Pa., 1914, pp. 115, 116.

¹² Healy, William, *The Individual Delinquent*, Boston, 1915, pp. 135, 136 and Book II, Ch. 4.

16 per cent were clearly mentally defective, 8.8 per cent of the boys in the industrial school, 10 per cent of the inmates of the Milwaukee House of Correction, and 10.5 per cent of the inmates of the Girls' Industrial School were definitely feeble-minded. We shall not be far off if we say that at least 12 per cent of all criminals in institutions are mentally defective. Since only about 2 per 1000 of the population are feeble-minded, it is easy to see either that feeble-mindedness has been a potent factor in making the criminal, or else that the criminals studied have been caught because of their condition. A study of cases, however, indicates that the feeble-minded person who is not properly supervised is not capable of ordering his conduct in accordance with the standards of society and therefore is more likely to come under the influence of those who will induce anti-social conduct in him than the ordinary person.

Epilepsy, probably because of the social neglect which we visit upon epileptics, seems to furnish an unusually large number of criminals and delinquents. Dr. Healy in Chicago, in a study of 1000 young repeaters, found 7 per cent were known to be definitely epileptic.

The insanities, thirty-odd varieties of which have now been recognized, have come to be recognized as decisively important in the production of criminals and delinquents. Sometimes they lead to quarrelsomeness and the starting of lawsuits. The person concerned feels that he is unjustly treated, has delusions of persecution, and easily becomes a fraudulent person, or even a criminal of violence. Among these insanities *dementia praecox* recently has been discovered in large numbers especially among the younger offenders. Dr. Healy found 25 cases among his 1000 young recidivists in Chicago. Dr. Hixon, of the Municipal Court Psychopathic Laboratory of that city, believes that *dementia praecox* plays a very important rôle in the production of criminals. The literature is full of cases of insane offenders.

Perhaps even more important are the emotional disturbances which result from unhappy life experiences in the young. We have no definite statistics on the number of cases in a given criminal population who have been started on their career of delinquency by reason of these emotional disturbances. Recent studies, however, have shown that a great many of the young delinquents are suffering from mental conflicts which have resulted from unpleasant experiences in their lives. These emotional upsets may result from severe repression at home, lack of appreciation by schoolmats, a shock from premature sexual experiences, or from the conflict which may arise between natural curiosity and the moral standards

of society. Recent studies both in juvenile courts and in schools have shown that many problem children are suffering from such emotional disturbances.¹³

Heredity and Crime. The beginner will often meet the expression "hereditary crime." Naturally the question arises, can crime be inherited? To speak of crime as "hereditary crime" is a loose usage of term. Crime is a social manifestation in conduct, while heredity is a biological matter. Crime cannot be inherited in any scientific sense of the term. What is meant by those who discuss heredity in connection with criminality is that certain physical and mental characteristics may be inherited, which under the right environment result in crime. It is fairly evident that certain physical and mental characteristics may be inherited which may have an important influence on conduct. Among these are the inheritance of early sexual maturity with a lag in mental and emotional maturity, laziness, nervous instability, and mental defect. Healy in his study of 1000 juvenile delinquent repeaters in Chicago, of which 668 provided adequate family histories, epilepsy or some grade of mental defect was present in 245 of the families, and 152 cases showed criminal individuals in the ancestry. In 61 per cent of 823 cases he found distinct defects in the family.¹⁴ There is no question that the evidence at hand strongly suggests that certain traits may be inherited which have a decided influence on the conduct of the individual. Often these traits need to have the proper environmental media in order to develop them, while under other conditions they remain dormant.

Economic Factors. Many writers have called attention to the fact that most of the delinquents belong to the poorer classes, that crimes increase with economic depression and unemployment, and that crimes against property increase in a capitalistic organization of society. There can be no question as to these facts. The problem is as to the interpretation of their meaning. Do men steal because they are hungry? Do girls enter a life of prostitution because of need? In both cases the question can be answered by both yes and no. Some men steal because they are hungry or because their families are in need. Some girls enter a life of prostitution, or that course of conduct which may lead to prostitution, by reason of the pressure

¹³ For a detailed discussion of these points see Healy, William, *The Individual Delinquent*, Boston, 1915, Book II, Ch. 10; Sayles, M. B., and Nudd, H. W., *The Problem Child, in School*, New York, 1925; *Three Problem Children*, New York, 1924; Glueck, S. S., *Mental Disorder and the Criminal Law*, Boston, 1925, pp. 287, 315, 317-318; Van Water, Miriam, *Youth in Conflict*, New York, 1925; Hoag, E. B., and Williams, E. H., *Crime, Abnormal Minds and the Law*, Indianapolis, 1923, Ch. 13; *Judge Baker Case Studies*, Ser. I.

¹⁴ Healy, *op. cit.*, Boston, 1915, pp. 153-157.

of necessity. On the other hand, however, some people in the very deepest distress do not commit crime, and some girls in the direst need do not go astray from the path of virtue. It is clear, therefore, that economic factors act indirectly rather than directly in most cases. Need becomes a circumstance to which a certain type of individual responds in anti-social conduct. The business cycles bringing unemployment and distress to many lives doubtless bring a strain upon some individuals which it is impossible for them to sustain. Whether, therefore, the economic factors be direct or indirect in their operation, they provide the environment under which certain natures give way and break over the standards set by society for normal social living. Moreover, certain trades show themselves to be extra-hazardous in their moral results. Street trades especially are dangerous to children. Night work in factories provides circumstances which are a menace to the morals of girls and young women. Working boys provide a delinquent rate from 2 to 10 times as high as those who are not working. Boys employed in messenger service seem to be especially liable to delinquency. Compelled to enter all kinds of resorts at all hours of the day and night, they become habituated to scenes of vice and lawlessness which break down any moral standards they may have and which often results in disaster. Waitresses in hotels and restaurants, on the one hand, are living on the smallest wages, perhaps rooming in some cheerless room, denied the ordinary recreation, and on the other, are subject to the solicitations of conscienceless men. In a recent study 62 per cent of the waitresses in hotels and restaurants were without normal homes. Statistics on crime and child labor show that there is a very close correlation between the two. In 1914 during the time of high unemployment 30 per cent measured the increase of burglary over 1912. Vagrancy increased 51 per cent, robbery 64 per cent, and mendicancy 105 per cent. Divorce and suicide rates likewise increased. In 1920 of the men in the Wisconsin state prison, 42.5 per cent had never been regularly employed, but were drifters. On the whole then we can say that the economic factors act upon the individual and, if he is weak, break down his resistance.

Social Factors. The social circumstances of life affect one's conduct. Like the economic, they form the medium in which personality develops. If the social circumstances are of such a nature as to bring out the inherent qualities of the individual which are adapted to social life, and to inhibit those characteristics which lead to anti-social conduct, experience leads us to believe that the individual will develop conduct in accordance with the standards of society. We must always remember that conduct is the outcome of the two sets of conditions, *viz.*, the inherent characteristics of the

individual himself stimulated to expression or repressed by the circumstances in which he lives.

In our civilization there are many social conditions which are inimical to the development of social personality. Maladjustments of the conditions to the proper development of personality are frequent. These social factors in a broad general way may be classified as follows: (1) the factors connected with the home; (2) the playground; (3) the school; (4) community influences; (5) customs and beliefs current in a given society; (6) anti-social companions; (7) class hatred; (8) religion; (9) the courts and prisons; (10) the fundamental elements in a given civilization.

The *home* as the fundamental social institution has an enormous influence upon the development of the personality of the children. Consider the home of the immigrant in this country. Many times the immigrant settles in a great city, the parents have to adjust themselves to strange conditions, both in their economic life and in their social life. Old ties have been broken; they have brought standards and traditions quite different from those of the country to which they have come; often they are peasants who for the first time have been forced into industry, and frequently the father and the mother are both away from home, leaving the children to their own devices. In addition to these factors, frequently it occurs that the children become Americanized more rapidly than their parents, and thus a great gulf becomes fixed between the social habits and traditions of the children and those of their parents. Frequently the immigrant home is poverty-stricken and this condition has a decided effect upon the delinquency of the children. A study by Healy and Bronner in Chicago showed that one-fourth of the cases in their new series of studies were from homes so poor that poverty was a factor in the delinquency.¹⁵ The broken home is decidedly dangerous for juveniles. In a study of 2000 cases in Chicago nearly a third of the juvenile delinquents had one or more parents dead. From 21 to 30 per cent had parents separated, while from 48 to 55 per cent of the children had both parents living at home. In these latter cases, however, they almost as well might have been broken homes because of the bad conditions which prevailed in these homes. When the home is immoral perhaps the situation is worse for the child than if he were separated entirely from his parents, or than if they were dead. The fundamental importance of a good home in the prevention of delinquency is well recognized everywhere. Frequently bad home conditions are made worse by the presence of drunken, immoral, epileptic,

¹⁵ Healy, William, and Bronner, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, July, 1916, pp. 50, 51.

insane, or feeble-minded parents. Too often the home itself is the source of demoralization. In Chicago in 1903 and 1904 out of 584 boys who appeared in the courts, 107 had habitual drunkenness in their families. Of 157 girls from Chicago, in the Illinois State Training School, 31 were daughters of drunken fathers; at least 10 had drunken mothers; 27 had vicious fathers; 16 had vicious, immoral, or criminal mothers; and 12 were from families in which other members than the parents were vicious or criminal. Healy and Bronner found from 20 to 28 per cent of the homes from which these children had come were cursed with alcoholism, immorality, or criminalism.

Many of these homes are so crowded that decency is impossible. The child from his earliest years becomes habituated to scenes from which he should be protected. Breckinridge and Abbott in Chicago, studying 584 delinquent boys and 157 delinquent girls, found that 47 per cent of the boys were from families with six or more children, and 21 per cent from families with eight or more children. Among the girls 34 per cent were from families with six or more children, and 13 per cent from families with eight or more children.

Moreover, even where the families are not broken, lack of parental management is to be seen in many cases of delinquents. Healy and Bronner found extreme lack of parental control ranged from 23 per cent of the cases in the first series to 46 per cent in the second. Extreme parental neglect was found by them in 16 per cent of the second series of 1000. Of this 1000 in the second series they studied, only 5 per cent of the homes were very good.

The lack of *wholesome recreation* in a great city is one of the most potent causes of juvenile delinquency. Undirected use of leisure time is a peril to a child. Mr. Thurston found in his study in Cleveland that over 50 per cent of his delinquents spent their leisure time in desultory unguided pursuits. In my study of 160 wholesome citizens I found that only .7 of 1 per cent spent their leisure time in such pursuits. No community can afford to neglect playground facilities with proper guidance for its children.

The relationship of *education* to crime has often been studied. Very few college graduates are found in our prisons and reformatories. This may mean either that education results in a course of conduct which does not end in a prison, or it may mean that only those who are able to graduate from educational institutions do not get caught. There are, however, a number of reasons why the ignorant have a higher crime-rate, other things being equal. The uneducated man usually has greater difficulty

in making a living. He has to take the less well paid employment; usually he does not have as wide a range of employment open to him; he is less likely to have the varied use of his leisure time and therefore may easily drift into bad companionship.

However, it must be admitted that education in the simple elementary subjects has only an indirect bearing upon the prevention of criminality. It has been found that the type of crime varies with the degree of education. Crimes of violence are more frequently committed by the uneducated, while crimes of skill and cunning such as embezzlement, and forgery, are the crimes of the educated.

Furthermore, it has been discovered that children who do not get along well in school are likely to become truant and to wind up in the juvenile court. Evidently our schools are not yet perfectly adjusted to maintaining the interest of all the children who come to them. Too often the schools are built to fit the average student and too little attention is given to the abnormal child. More and more attention is being given to suiting the school system and the curriculum to the needs of the individual child. At the present time, however, too frequently the children drop out of school from lack of interest, go to work at the first opportunity, and as we have seen, working children are under special hazard. Consequently it must be said in all fairness that the school must shoulder the responsibility for making some delinquents. The teacher, loaded with forty pupils, some of whom present special problems, cannot be charged fairly with this result. Some schools are introducing visiting teachers whose business it is to follow up the child who is not doing well in school, or who presents special problems, to see that adjustments are made in that child's life, and that the school adapts itself to his individual capacities and peculiarities, in order to produce a wholesome personality. Too many times the teachers are interested only in earning their salaries, although there are some glorious exceptions who follow children into their homes and into their community life in order to assist in the adjustment of the child to the circumstances of school and community.

Moreover, it is recognized that the chief business of the school is to form social personality. Mere formal education will not always accomplish that.

The influences in *the community* have a great deal to do with the development of conduct. Children especially, and adolescents also, are subject to the attitudes and opinions of the community. How often when a delinquent is brought to court the story is told of how he had a good family, came from good stock, and yet had gone astray because of the

untoward influences in the community in the midst of which he lives. Sometimes the influences of the community are positively demoralizing. Consider the difficulty which well-intentioned parents have in stemming the influence upon their children of evil influences in the congested district of a great city. The influence of the home is neutralized by the tide of immorality which flows out of saloons, dance halls, vicious resorts, and the uncontrolled life of the gang in the alleys, back yards, railroad tracks, and docks which characterize that part of a city. Even when the home is of the best, it has great difficulty in fighting against such influences. This is especially difficult for the foreign-born family whose ideals and traditions seem old-fogyism to these children who have more rapidly become in a way Americanized in the new environment in which they live.

Moreover, consider the influence of *customs and beliefs* which are at variance with the customs, beliefs, traditions, standards, and ideals of the general society in the midst of which a new group of citizens may live. Contemplate the foreign-born family, coming with a set of social standards and traditions from a foreign country, yet subject to the standards, beliefs, ideals, and traditions which have grown up upon American soil. Their culture is a different one in many respects; their customs are quite at variance with many of those they find in this country; their ideals are frequently different. For example, think of the Italian child or adolescent, who with his parents, has come from a country where the tradition of wine-drinking is universal. He settles with his parents in an American city, where prohibition is established, at least in theory. They see no reason why they should not drink wine. In fact, they find in the appetites of Americans who are not in accordance with the prohibition law an opportunity for easy money. Why should they not make it and sell it since it provides an opportunity for sudden opulence? Or consider the contrast between the sex morals of an immigrant from an eastern or southeastern European country, with those which are tolerated in an American community. Struggling with poverty in a great American city, the foreign family sees no reason why it should not take in numerous boarders. Every available space is occupied, perhaps the boarder sleeps with some of the children, what we call immoral relations are often established, and the child is haled into court. The group-mores which held matters in hand in the Old Country have weakened and the families have not yet adopted the standards of the new country. The drinking habit of many people is a fertile source of delinquency and crime. Various studies show that of the serious crimes of violence from 33 per cent to as high as 67.4 per cent are due to drunkenness.

Moreover, many beliefs become current among certain classes and groups of society which are at variance with the established standard of conduct. Confirmed criminals are usually cynical and bitter. They see no reason why they should be punished for acts which are similar to other acts which are within the law. Open assault on a rich man seems less ignoble than the cautious combinations of fraud sometimes practiced by respectable citizens. The criminal is subject to the public opinion of his own class rather than of the general society of which he is a member. Furthermore, consider the results of the custom of taking apples from a tree in the country, when such a custom is carried out in the city by taking fruit from the fruit-vendor's stand. Or what happens to the frugal foreigner who keeps chickens and goats as he was accustomed to do in the old country?

With the social and economic development of a population, classes inevitably arise both social and economic, and *class hatreds* are likely to develop unless the adjustments between these classes are very carefully regulated. In every period of social and industrial unrest, of political or economic oppression, class hatreds are bound to arise. Out of these hatreds develop beliefs and standards of action which frequently lead to violation of law. There occurs to one's mind such examples as the violence which often breaks out in industrial strikes, the so-called "race conflicts" between the negroes and whites in some of our great cities, and between Orientals and the whites on the West coast. In Europe even the different religious groups sometimes come into conflict, a special example of which is the anti-Semitic "pogroms" in certain European countries. Certain other class hatreds arising chiefly from the industrial struggle, are exemplified by the clashes between the I. W. W. and the employers, and between certain groups of Communists and those who believe that communism means the overthrow of our present government.

Religion is another social factor which has been considered in connection with crime. One would suppose that a religion which has for its doctrine the love of one's fellow-men would prevent clashes, would produce tolerance, and would make for peace and good conduct. Curiously enough, however, even Christianity has not always been characterized by such results. Wars have been fought over religious questions, and it has been discovered by a careful study of prison statistics that religion does not always have the effect of curbing the anti-social propensities of men. A study made by Aschaffenburg in Germany has shown that in certain countries of Europe Catholics have a higher criminal rate than Protestants, both of them than Jews, and these three religions higher than those pro-

fessing no religion whatsoever. It ought to be pointed out, however, that Aschaffenburg cites the fact that it is probably the economic conditions of the people rather than their religion which counts for this curious situation. However, it must be confessed that religion does not always curb the evil propensities of men. If religion is chiefly of a ceremonial nature rather than a social nature it should not be expected that it would have very much influence upon the conduct. The only religion which seems to have any bearing upon the problem of crime is a socialized religion, *viz.*, a religion devoted to social ends and purposes.

The courts are the instruments of justice set up by the state to protect the citizens and to bring offenders to justice. On the whole they serve that purpose well. However, it must be admitted that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that certain practices of the courts make criminals instead of curing them. Consider the effect upon the man brought before a court charged with an offense, who is poor and cannot hire a lawyer, but has to take whatever lawyer the court sees fit to appoint to defend him. Whether he is correct in his conclusion or not, is he not likely to believe, when he sees rich men defended by very capable lawyers and himself defended by a novice, that justice is not even-handed? Frequently also the delay in bringing to trial the accused, who perhaps cannot get bail and must lie in jail in contact with hardened criminals, corrupts a young offender. Furthermore, consider the numerous technicalities on which skillful lawyers may cheat justice in the case of influential criminals, in contrast with the speedy hearing and the swift punishment meted out to the poor or uninfluential man. Furthermore, what must be the effect upon many individuals under our theory that no matter what the difference in the persons of different criminals, the same crime merits the same punishment? While extenuating circumstances are permissible in our courts for the consideration of the jury, and while the judge may in the imposition of sentence consider such extenuating circumstances, nevertheless, any careful study of the sentences imposed for crimes, shows that even-handed justice is quite impossible under our system. The effect upon the minds of men who feel that they have been discriminated against may be easily imagined. On the other hand, put yourself in the place of the man who has received a sentence of ten years for a certain crime, when he knows that another man just as guilty of the same crime receives two or five. The whole theory on which our system of justice is based, namely, that a certain act merits a given amount of punishment, cannot be administered in strict justice. The result is that the psychological effect upon the minds of those who feel that they

have been unjustly treated is the development of a grudge against society and sometimes results in making a criminal.

In many of our states even our *prisons* are conceived to be institutions for the reformation of the criminal. In other states the theory is that the prison is for the purpose of punishing the criminal and thus make him expiate his crime, and so when the expiation is accomplished he is turned out into society again. If the theory followed by the prison officials is that of expiation, then the purpose of the prison is to make the punishment as disagreeable as possible so as to make certain that the prisoner is punished as much as he made others or society suffer. Under that theory he will go out feeling that he has been mistreated and that he has a right to exact vengeance of society which has taught him the doctrine of vengeance. On the other theory that the prison is for the reformation of its inmates, what must be the effect upon the prisoner's mind when, instead of being treated so as to cure him of his malady, he is treated so that he feels that society, instead of trying to reform him, is brutally punishing him? Moreover, in every prison first offenders are thrown into contact with hardened criminals and the prison becomes a school of crime. Innumerable cases might be cited which show just such results from a prison experience.¹⁸

Civilization itself in one sense of the term accounts for some of the criminality. Our social relationships are growing ever more complex. They are most complex in our great cities. Such a civilization requires nice adjustment on the part of the individual to its complexity. Consider then the individual who by nature perhaps is defective or unbalanced, and finds difficulty in adjusting himself to new conditions. Unless civilization throws about him protecting arms and guides him in circumstances in which he is unable to direct his own conduct, civilization itself may be fairly charged with accountability for his delinquency. Again, consider the man who has been brought up in the simple relationship of the country, has formed habits of living there, adjusting himself to the simple conditions of the countryside, who finds himself in middle or late life endeavoring to live in a city. Often he finds the adjustment quite difficult. If in addition to that he is by nature limited in capacity, his difficulty is doubly great. Or again, contemplate the foreigner habituated to norms of conduct in a foreign country, with different standards from ours, who comes to this country in middle life and attempts to adjust himself to the complex conditions of our great city. Here, again, if civilization does

¹⁸ If the student is interested in reading examples of such a case let him consult Lowrie, Donald, *My Life in Prison*, New York, 1912.

not throw about him guidance, the very complexity of the life in the midst of which he lives will be too much for him. Or, again, think of the foreigner who in his own country has never had a chance to vote, a simple peasant man, who worked hard and had to be content to have someone else govern him. He comes to this country and finds after a few years that the vote is put into his hands. Too often instead of the patriotic citizens of the country guiding him, teaching him of the spirit of our institutions, and preparing him for good citizenship, some political boss in a great city helps him get his naturalization papers, and then through money or influence controls his vote. One such man wrote back to his friend in the old country, that this was a great country, a land of great opportunity. A man could get \$2.00 for his vote on election day! This man was not a criminal in any true sense of the word; he was simply an un-instructed citizen, much less culpable than the man who bought his vote.

When one considers all these conditions surrounding everyone of us from childhood to old age, and when we stop to recognize that a considerable number of our population is somewhat defective in brains, others are lacking in education, and that our civilization is so organized that there are great gulfs between the opportunities of different groups; when we remember how our economic life puts stresses upon us which require good brains to meet and bear successfully, good training in adjustment to these complex conditions in order to be a good citizen, it is remarkable that no more become criminal. The marvel is that so few fall by the wayside, considering the few and bungling arrangements made by society to help the individual in that great adventure of adjustment to the requirements of social life. Let us now turn to consider some of the methods which society has devised to deal with the delinquent and prevent maladjustment.

METHODS OF DEALING WITH THE DELINQUENT AND THE CRIMINAL

The Police. The officers of the peace are the first ones who deal with the criminal. Their chief functions are to preserve the peace, and to arrest and bring to trial offenders. In this country we have very few police schools and consequently most of the men are untrained, except for what training they get on the job. I suppose that not one policeman in a million has had any special training such as the doctor gets for his profession. The policeman is often appointed because of his friendship with some politician, or if a sheriff, he is elected by popular vote. If a town constable, he may be appointed by the mayor, or elected by the city council, or the town board. So long as our civilization was a rural or semi-rural civilization, almost any man could be a good peace officer. With the growth of our large cities,

however, the responsibilities of the policeman have very greatly multiplied. If he is to fulfill his responsibilities, he must be a very much higher type of man, he must be trained for very difficult duties, and should be selected with the greatest care. The office of policeman is not looked upon with great favor; I know of very few college men who have been looking forward to a career in the police. The office is looked down upon because of the kind of men who have been appointed to it in the past. He is the butt of all the jokesters and is a favorite theme for the cartoonist. He is usually pictured as quite stupid, large of person, and fat of head, yet in this man's hand lies the protection of the person and property of the people of our cities. He must know the law and the court decisions as to what a policeman may do and what he may not do. He may be the bogey-man with which to scare children, or he may be a constructive force among the childhood and youth of his beat. He may be the one to turn the erring feet of youth into the paths of good conduct, or through his bungling and lack of understanding of human nature he may be the means whereby a reckless youth is turned to destruction. He must not only arrest offenders, but he must also discover evidence on which a trial can be based. He must understand criminals and their ways, but he must also understand the psychology of the non-criminal population.

A new day is dawning for the policeman. We have just begun to appreciate the great opportunities and responsibilities he has. Some day we shall begin to train him and we shall select him with much greater care; perhaps then we shall look upon him with as much regard as we do the school-teacher or the banker. It has been charged that at the present time the policemen make as many criminals as they catch. There is no question that most of them do not know how to handle juveniles and they are often charged with not understanding how to get along with adults. When the policeman comes into his own and measures up to the opportunities which are his, he will be one of society's finest agents for the prevention of crime as well as for its detection and punishment.

The Courts. After a man is arrested he is either placed in jail to await trial or is let out on bond. In due time he comes before the court for his trial. He either pleads guilty or not guilty; if the latter, he stands trial for the charge against him. As our courts are organized at the present time in this country, the trial is a legal battle between the prosecutor and the defender. The judge is pretty much an umpire in a game. He conducts the game according to rules of evidence which have been developed over a long history, many of which seem to be quite outworn. The statute covering the offense tells the judge within what limits he may sentence the man

if he is found guilty. The jury hears the evidence and in some states judges even of the law as well as of the facts of the case. It decides whether the man is guilty or not guilty, and, in some states, the punishment. In other states the judge pronounces sentence and metes out the punishment. In case the man is acquitted, the whole matter is ended; but in case he is convicted, the law provides for appeals on the part of his attorney to the higher court, on the theory that every chance should be given to the man to prove himself to be innocent. However, in the course of time so many technicalities in regard to the rules of evidence have been developed, that it is very difficult to convict a man accused of crime who is able to hire good lawyers. A recent study in St. Louis County, Missouri, shows the difficulty which the court experienced in convicting men charged with crime. Out of 443 for whom warrants were issued, 163 were finally sentenced, but because of parole, appeal, and other dispositions, only 100 were finally punished. Out of the 163, if the pleas of guilty by 137 are deducted, only 26 persons were punished. That is, out of the 443 charged with a felony in the two-year period from October 1, 1922, to October 1, 1924, in St. Louis County, only 26 were punished.¹⁷

In Cleveland in 1919 the mortality of felony cases in the Common Pleas court was very much greater than that in the St. Louis court. Of 3,236 felony cases in that court, only 9.5 per cent were convicted of felony, although 13.38 per cent plead guilty of the offense charged, and 17 per cent more who had plead not guilty, finally changed the plea to guilty of offense as charged. Thus a trifle under 40 per cent were either convicted or plead guilty, while over 60 per cent were disposed of in another manner, 5½ per cent being dismissed on a *nolle prosequi*.¹⁸ Of the number convicted or pleading guilty, 78.11 were punished as sentenced, while 21.89 per cent had their sentences suspended.

Space will not permit further discussion of the failure of the court to handle effectively those who are brought to it for trial. Could we study the number of appeals and the disposition of the cases on appeal, and could we look into the minds of those who escaped punishment, as well as of those who were punished, we should have a more adequate picture of the failure of the courts in the administration of criminal justice. Then we should be prepared to appreciate Ex-President Taft's statement that the administration of criminal justice in the United States is a disgrace.

Here and there, however, states are making improvements in the crimi-

¹⁷ *The Missouri Crime Survey*, New York, 1926, pp. 154, 155.

¹⁸ *Criminal Justice in Cleveland*, Cleveland Foundation, Cleveland, Ohio, 1922,

nal procedure which give promise of making these instruments for the treatment of the delinquent and the criminal more adequate to their social purposes. Here and there courts are making use of clinics in order to study the individual who is on trial. At Sing Sing in New York a great laboratory is being started to determine how to classify the convicts, and how they shall be treated in order to fit the treatment more perfectly to the needs of each individual. In Boston and in Chicago the juvenile courts have the services of expert psychologists and psychiatrists to aid them in determining what to do with the juveniles who come before these courts. Thus, step by step science is being introduced into the determination of the nature of the offender in order that the institutions provided by society for the treatment of the offender may better perform their duty.

Probation is another device to mitigate the maladjustment of criminal justice to the needs of the individual. We keep the old theory that the law-maker should say just what treatment should be handed out to each individual who contravenes a certain law. However, that has worked so unjustly that we have invented a device known as *probation* by which the judge is empowered to use his discretion as to whether he will send a convicted man to an institution, or whether in view of all the circumstances of his nature and the circumstances surrounding the commission of the act, he might not better suspend sentence and put the man in charge of someone who will give him careful supervision. If probation is carefully used and applied only to those who give promise of doing well at liberty under supervision, and if those under whom the judge places those convicted of crime are properly qualified persons who will take an active, sympathetic, and wise interest in the person committed to their charge, probation is a most beneficial contrivance. The man is saved the stigma of a prison sentence, is put to work, and his earnings are devoted to his family or saved for himself; moreover, he himself may be reformed.

Juvenile reformatories were devised to remove from prison juvenile offenders. They are now usually called "industrial schools." The history of these institutions has not been reassuring. Too often those in charge of them have been men and women without special qualifications for their difficult tasks. As a consequence, they have been largely juvenile prisons. In a study made by Dr. Miriam Van Waters a number of years ago of some 28 girls' industrial schools in the United States, she found only 6 which were doing constructive work. In all these six cases they were manned by people who understood children and youth. Under such circumstances they are valuable institutions because there are some children who have failed on probation and who do need an institution in which

they may be trained for good citizenship. On the basis of experience we may say that unless a state places in charge of these institutions trained men and women who understand young people, who know how to arrange matters in the institution so as to bring a new viewpoint on life into the minds of the youngsters, how to awaken idealism, and how to get the juveniles to form habits of conduct in accordance with the standards of society, they are worthless.

Adult reformatories were started in this country with the establishment of the Elmira Reformatory for Men in New York in 1876. This was an experiment in the attempt to apply reformatory methods to young men. It was limited in its original intention to first offenders who had committed certain offenses. Those who had received life sentences were not eligible for admission. Schools were established to teach these boys the elements of an education and certain trades. At one time 30 odd trades were taught. In addition, the attempt was made through military drill and physical exercise, medical service, religious services, and certain classes in citizenship and ethics, to bring before the young men new ideals, to establish new habits, and to prepare them to go out into the world to live as useful citizens. Elmira was copied in a large number of states, in most places with somewhat indifferent success. With a few rather notable exceptions they have turned out to be merely young men's prisons. Here, as in the case of the industrial schools, the difficulty was that those in charge of them were persons unfitted by native endowment or training to handle these difficult problem cases.

Another method which has been devised to adjust treatment to the individual offender is *the indeterminate sentence*. Unfortunately, the term is a misnomer. In all of our states it is not absolutely indeterminate, but is limited by statute to the length of time for which the offender would have been sentenced had he not been sentenced under the indeterminate sentence. Therefore it is a limited indeterminate sentence, that is, limited by the penalty set down in the law for that particular offense. It must be admitted, however, that it has meant the retention of men in prison longer than experience has shown that they remain in prison under a definite sentence. Therefore, even the limited indeterminate sentence means some social advance. What is needed is that the sentence should be absolutely indeterminate, that is, that determination of the sentence should depend not upon the limitations in the statute, but upon the judgment of those who know the man best and are best qualified to determine when he is fit to go back into society with the prospect of successful conduct.

Closely connected with the indeterminate sentence is *parole*, another

method of individualizing the treatment of offenders. While probation means putting the man under control of some supervision before he is sent to an institution, parole means that after a man has spent a certain length of time within an institution, and has shown by good conduct the possibility of his doing well on the outside, then he is released under supervision of certain officials. Here again, inefficient officers have been the rule. Without special training for their tasks, frequently they have not understood how to handle the men under their supervision, and they have been too few in number to have frequent contact with those paroled. Frequently men have been paroled who should never have been admitted to parole outside the institution, and as a consequence parole has not had the success that was hoped for it. In spite of all these drawbacks, however, parole as a method of individualizing treatment has great possibilities under an adequate number of well trained parole officers, and may send many men back into free society to support their families and to relieve the state of the expense of their keep, who without this device would have been kept in the prison. No one knows how large a percentage of those paroled have done well. Originally the estimates were as high as 85 per cent. The tendency in recent years has been to reduce that number as more careful study has been made of these paroled men. But even if 50 per cent, or even a third of the men do well on parole, it probably has justified itself. With carefully selected men for parole, with good officers and plenty of them, parole would be one of our most promising devices for the redemption of offenders.

Our highest penal correctional institution is the *prison*. To this institution are committed those convicted of the more serious crimes and those above a certain age who are not eligible to the reformatory. Its history has been a sad one and only from the standpoint of the protection of society from the depredations of criminals can it be partially justified. Usually it is run under the strictest discipline, the rule of silence between the men usually prevails, it is officered by men who have no special qualifications for the task, either by nature or by training, and, from the standpoint of reforming men and restoring them to society as good citizens, it has been a colossal failure. Even the highest officer in a prison, the warden, usually has had no special educational background for his work. The lesser officials are even less adequately prepared. Hired for a wage that will not attract many capable men, the guards for the most part are uninspiring, repressive automatons. We shall not have different prisons until we pay as high salaries to a warden as we pay to a university president and select him as carefully. Perhaps we should not expect that the

same standards would be applied to guards as to college and university professors. Nevertheless it is probable that until we pick these lesser prison officials with as great care as we select university teachers, or at least high school teachers, we shall not get far in making our prisons really reformatory institutions.

The consequence of our blundering methods of handling delinquents is shown in such a statement as the following: In a study made in the Wisconsin State Prison in 1919 by the National Mental Hygiene Committee, it was found that 45 per cent of the men there were repeaters. Our prisons go on year after year failing to reform half, or even more, of the men in them and nothing is said. Too often the history of a man is that he has come first into the juvenile court, where he has been put on probation. Failing on probation he is sent to the industrial school for boys. After release there he finds his way to the reformatory for men, and finally he winds up in the prison. After a certain number of years he can go out into society again, in some of our states at least, even if he has been sentenced for life, provided he has a history of good behavior in the institution. It must be recognized that in the prison we have two general classes of men—(1) those who ought to be subject to custodial care as long as they live, and ought never to be permitted outside; and (2) a class of young men who have seen the error of their ways and have decided to reform. These men ought to be let out into society as soon as they are fit to return. Every effort within the institution for these promising offenders should be bent to prepare them for social life.

Perhaps the day will come when we shall apply science to discover which of our offenders are such by reason of their native incapacity, or by warps in their nature. These we should treat as such and use our best efforts to retrain them for normal life on the outside. Those who cannot thus be retrained should be kept as custodial cases during their lives. Another class of offenders is the professional. Under our laws usually they can get out in a certain length of time. They have not been reformed; they look forward to following their criminal career when they are released, and ought never to be released until it is certain that they have reformed.

As we look back carefully over the whole history of the treatment of the criminal, we see that here society has made one of its most dismal failures. It fails in its trial of the offender; it fails in his detention before trial. That failure is repeated when he is sent to an institution which is not properly equipped to exert society's pressure to change his way of life. We fail in the equipment and the manning of the institutions to which

these persons are committed. We fail in the application of science in their treatment. We often fail by putting the wrong person on probation. Again we fail by letting the wrong persons out on parole and giving improper supervision to those who are released. We fail in that we have the definite sentence for a great many offenders under our law, and must release them whether they are fit to go back into society or not. We fail in not applying good educational measures and principles to the treatment of these men whom we are trying to reform. If we applied the same ingenuity and science to the treatment of criminals that we do to the breeding and training of horses and dogs, we might get farther.

After all, the place to begin on this problem of crime is at the beginning. Here the old saying is true that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. If our study of the matter has shown that the lack of playgrounds makes for criminality, if slums produce as their results offenders against society, if we learn that the school is failing to set the feet of young people upon the right path, if our study shows that even the church is failing in the great task of directing young people into the paths of social righteousness, if our economic system is such that it sometimes provides the occasion that drives men into crime, and if our political system is such that it promotes criminality rather than prevents it, our study indicates the points at which the attack on the problem of crime should be made. Steadily year by year as we obtain better knowledge, we must apply this knowledge which we have in psychology, in sociology, in education, in religion, in politics, in economics to adjusting the conditions of life to the capacities of each person so as to enable him to function in the very best possible way according to his natural capacity.

From the doctrine of heredity we should learn that there are certain people born into the world who are unable to function under the present organization of our social life. Eugenics suggests that certain of these people should be selected for non-propagation. If we applied as much good sense and science to the production of our human population as we do to our animals we should solve this aspect of the problem in a very short time. The feeble-minded, certain classes of the insane, epileptics, the mentally abnormal, and other defectives challenge our attention to this problem of the racial stock. Some people are less capable of adapting themselves to the social requirements of life than others. Either we must eliminate those incapable of making adjustments, or we should throw about them the protecting arms of society, that is, adjust society's requirements to them rather than to make demands upon them which they are incapable of fulfilling.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the legal distinction between a criminal and a delinquent?
2. Of what value is that distinction in the treatment of children?
3. Give figures to show the importance of the problem of crime.
4. What is your opinion of a system of treating the criminal which results in half of them coming back to the institution?
5. State in a single sentence your theory of what makes a criminal.
6. How do you account for the fact that of two people from the same family and brought up in the same neighborhood, one will turn out to be a good citizen and the other will become delinquent?
7. How may the visiting school teacher aid in the development of personal attitudes that will prevent delinquency?
8. Suggest changes which society should make in its institutions and methods of treating the delinquent and the criminal which would probably make them more successful?

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CHAPTER 26

GROUP CONFLICT

Lester F. Ward pictured a condition of society in the days of its early development when loosely formed hordes of people, tracing kinship through the mothers only, were the only groups of men upon the earth. During this period when the hordes of mankind were separating, wandering farther apart, developing differences of language, customs, traditions, and religions, there was an idyllic stage of comparative peace and comfort which preceded the era of strife and war between more developed groups of men.¹ This picture is purely imaginative, drawn from the fact that certain groups of mankind to-day scattered on the outer fringes of human civilization are peaceful, knowing no war, and settling their difficulties, not by personal violence, but by ironic songs or poetry. For the great majority of mankind group struggle is to-day, and so far as history throws any light upon the question always has been, the inevitable accompaniment of contacts between people of different traditions and culture. All history is full of the story of wars and battles. The earliest portions of our Hebrew scriptures picture the struggle between alien groups. The earliest literature of the Greeks presents to us a picture of the individual combat and group wars as making up a very great proportion of life. These great struggles between what we now call national groups still go on. The greatest war of all history is of recent memory.

However, with the growing complexity of human life, with the dividing of people by different interests and occupations into various classes, the group struggles of the present day have been greatly multiplied. In addition to the struggle of ethnic and cultural groups, nationalities, and races, we have the struggle between different classes in the same society. Some of these class struggles are survivals from previous times. For example, the conflict between clergy and laity is a historical survival. So also are the conflicts between peasant and noble, learned and unlearned, and, to a degree, between those who have and those who have not. Once the chief social bond was kinship. Group struggle was between people of different blood. To-day that has largely passed, surviving chiefly in the feuds in backward communities between two different kin-groups. Social and

¹ Ward, L. F., *Pure Sociology*, New York, 1907, pp. 200-202.

economic differences rather than differences of blood characterize modern class struggle and group conflict. Moreover, since many of us are interested in several different classes, this diversification of interest has, on the whole, been a good thing. Our loyalties are somewhat divided. A man to-day may belong to a learned profession, but he may also be part-owner through stocks or bonds of a great corporation, or, on the other hand, he may be a member of a coöperative society. He may have obtained his wife in some European country, and he may have come up from the laboring class and be perfectly acquainted with their difficulties. Hence to-day the intensity of loyalty to a group frequently is diluted by loyalties to other groups.

SOME OUTSTANDING GROUP CONFLICTS

Space will not permit a thorough treatment of all the types of conflict between various classes and groups. Consider some of the more outstanding forms in our present civilization: (1) conflict between labor and capital; (2) race riots; (3) religious conflicts; (4) conflicts of culture; and (5) national conflict resulting in war.

Conflict Between Labor and Capital. The economic struggle for advantage between the employers of labor and the laborers themselves is a development consequent upon the industrial revolution. In a former day when the employer and his men worked in the same shop and at the same work there was no division of interests between the two. With the introduction of machinery and the use of large amounts of capital in the productive process, all this is changed. Often the stockholders who furnish the capital are not acquainted even with the manager of the business. There is not that personal touch between employer and employed that once there was. The stockholder is interested chiefly in his dividends; the bondholder in his interest; the manager in satisfying these two groups and at the same time keeping his labor as contented as possible. Labor in many cases does not know anything about the conduct of the business; it knows only what it hears as to the amount of profit which the business pays; it knows what wages it receives and frequently feels that the distribution of the concern's earnings is not fair. Moreover, the conditions under which the laborers work are determined not by conference of employer with employee, but arbitrarily by the employer and sometimes these conditions are bad for the laborer, for if improved they cost the company money. Consequently it is easy to see that in the development of our great industrial and commercial civilization the interest of the owners of great industries and the interest of the employees are not always the same. Consequently we have these industrial conflicts which we know as strikes and lockouts. Frequently an

industry is paralyzed by a strike which cannot be settled by agreement between the two contending parties. Thousands of families suffer, homes are disrupted, hatred developed, and frequently violence occurs. In such a case you have war within the body politic between conflicting classes of society. Table 40 shows the situation from 1916 to 1924: ²

TABLE 40

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of disputes</i>	<i>No. of employees</i>	<i>Average number of employees per dispute</i>
1916	2,667	1,599,917	600
1917	2,325	1,227,254	528
1918	2,151	1,239,989	576
1919	2,665	4,160,348	1,561
1920	2,226	1,463,054	657
1921	1,785	1,099,247	616
1922	865	1,608,321	1,859
1923	1,132	744,948	658
1924	872	654,453	751

This shows that during these nine years there were 16,688 disputes affecting 13,797,531 employees. The seriousness of this class conflict is apparent from these figures.

Race Riots. Race riots in the United States are conflicts between whites and negroes, or whites and Orientals. The attacks of the whites on negroes in the South sociologically grow out of the disturbance of the status of the two races consequent upon the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln and the final issue of the Civil War. So long as the inferior position of the blacks was established by law and common consent, there was no question as to the relationship of the two races. However, upon the political emancipation of the blacks, the question of the relationship between the two races became critical. Habit, custom, and tradition had fixed in the mores of the people of the South the inferior status of the blacks. When they were given political equality after the close of the Civil War, naturally friction between the two races developed.

The root of conflict between the whites and the Orientals on the West coast is somewhat different. Fundamentally it is economic in its nature, although social considerations enter also. So long as the Chinese and Japanese immigrants were content to take the part of servants in the household there was no trouble. When, however, they began to launch out in the economic field on their own account and with the lower standard of living were able to compete successfully with their white neighbors in

² *World Almanac*, 1925, p. 191.

industry and business, trouble began. Their family standards as well as their standards of living, their customs of working on Sundays, their insistence that their children should attend school with white children, and the rising social status which economic success brought in its train, aggravated the situation. The occasional marriage of a white woman to a Japanese or a Chinese, while not of great significance, served to excite the imaginations of the whites for fear of social equality, just as it does in the South when some negroes, not content with political equality and economic opportunity, insist upon the right to intermarry with the whites and to be accorded equal social privileges.

From 1885 up to 1925 there were 3,182 negroes lynched. While the numbers have varied from year to year, rising from 78 in 1885 to 171 in 1895, the tendency from that date to the present, with the exception of four or five instances, has been steadily downwards. In 1925 only 17 negroes were lynched, although there were 39 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynching, 32 of these being in Southern states.

The states which show the largest number of lynchings of negroes between 1889 and 1925 are: Alabama, 266; Arkansas, 203; Florida, 209; Georgia, 433; Mississippi, 406; South Carolina, 129; Tennessee, 161; Texas, 280; and Louisiana, 287.³ It is generally supposed that most of the lynchings of negroes occur because of attacks on white women. A study of the figures, however, shows that 80 per cent of the lynchings of negroes are for crimes other than rape.⁴

Lynchings do not compare with race riots in their seriousness. In spite of the fact that lynchings have been decreasing in recent years, race riots between the whites and the blacks increase. In the three years 1919 to 1921 some of the most serious race conflicts which have taken place in the history of this country occurred. In 1919 there were serious riots in Charleston, South Carolina; Chicago, Illinois; Elaine, Arkansas; Knoxville, Tennessee; Longview, Texas; Omaha, Nebraska; and Washington, D. C.; in 1920, at Duluth, Minnesota; Independence, Kansas; Ocoee, Florida; and in 1921 at Springfield, Ohio, and Tulsa, Oklahoma.

In these recent riots a new attitude on the part of the negroes has appeared. They are beginning to fight back. Whether retaliation for what they feel is an injustice will advance their cause or not remains to be seen. The United States, however, is not the only country which has its color problem. The conflict between white and black has broken out in South

³ Figures compiled by Dr. Monroe N. Work of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute and editor of the *Negro Yearbook*, published in *World Almanac*, 1927, p. 322.

⁴ *Negro Yearbook*, 1921-22, p. 72.

Africa; it is at the bottom of the unrest in India, where serious rioting has occurred between the British and the natives; it lies at the root of the present difficulties in China; and is a perplexing problem in the Philippines. Everywhere these colored peoples are becoming self-conscious and are insisting upon their rights. What the outcome will be no one can say. In the United States state and city inter-racial committees are being formed for the purpose of adjusting relationships between the whites and the blacks in an equitable manner. Certain Southern states are passing laws giving the negro a right to sue the county which allows a lynching, and serious efforts are being made everywhere to adjust these difficult relations. These movements, however, are just in their incipency. They are culture conflicts.

Religious Conflicts. A few years ago anti-Semitism was a distinct problem in Europe. The attitude of the Greek Orthodox Church and of the Roman Catholic Church toward the Jews in some of the European countries, and the attitude of certain sections of the Protestant Church in Germany, was reaction against the increase of Jewish population, the economic prosperity of these people, and the cultural advancement for which they were constantly striving. With the increase of the Jewish population of the United States, especially in our large cities, some hatred of the Jews has appeared. The most striking individual instance of opposition to the Jews is that of Henry Ford, which ended dramatically in 1927. Generally the Jews who cause the difficulties are newly arrived immigrants, accustomed to a lower standard of living in European countries. They colonize in our large cities and enter into competition with the American workers and with American shopkeepers. In addition to this fundamental economic pressure certain customs and traditions mark them off as a people apart. Where, as in America, the Jews are not discriminated against politically, educationally, or economically, they soon adopt the standards of living of this country, join the labor unions, or organize new ones, accept American standards of business, adopt the customs of their new homeland, and rapidly assimilate with the people of the country. In Russia the Jewish problem has been largely solved by the Soviet revolution, inasmuch as many of the leaders of that movement are themselves Jews. From present appearances it does not seem that the Jewish problem will remain unsettled, but will readily adjust itself in a free country like America.

On the other hand, in Asia and Africa, where the Mohammedan culture comes in conflict with the Christian and Jewish, intense religious hatreds arise and conflicts occur. In India this clash occurs between Hindus and Mohammedans; in Turkey, between Mohammedans and Christians.

In a country of religious freedom, that is, where all religions are given equal opportunity and none special privileges, conflict tends to become competition, violence tends to give way to the subtler conflict, and the outcome is the adjustment of all religions to the demands of the people. The more active and flexible religious organizations tend to borrow and adapt to their purposes ideas and practices which have commended themselves to the people. Under such conditions the fierce religious conflicts die out, the tolerant spirit spreads, and those religions which most effectively commend themselves to the beliefs of the people survive, while others fade away.

Cultural Conflict. Another type of group conflict is represented by the conflict of different cultures. The conflicts of religion might have been discussed under this head, since religion is an element of culture. We have discussed it separately, however, because in the history of mankind it has played a much larger part in group conflicts than many of the other elements of culture. As a matter of fact, many of these other types of group conflict, like that between labor and capital, race riots, and even national conflict, frequently rest upon cultural differences. By the culture of a people we mean all those ways of doing things, points of view, customs, traditions, and habits which make up the warp and woof of everyday life and thinking. For example, consider the difference in culture between the American Indians when the whites came to this country, and that of the whites. Both the white colonists in this country and the Indians pursued agriculture. There was little difference. But there was a vast difference between the methods of government, religion, personal and group ideals, and traditions. The Indian had no weapons except the bow and arrow and the stone hatchet, or club. The white man brought with him the gun, which had developed out of the discovery of gunpowder. The religion of the Indian was a sort of animism culminating in the concept of the Great Spirit, or the Manitou. The white man's religion was the result of a long period of development. While the Indian's theology was chiefly a mythology, the white man's religion was shot through with certain dogmas which he held to be of absolute validity. The Indian had no sacred book, the white man had his infallible Bible. A definite set of traditions had attached themselves to his religion, as well as definite practices in the celebration of its rites. The Indian's government was a government based upon blood relationships, real or assumed. It was in the hands of clan and tribal leaders. The white man's government was based upon written instruments tracing back to the Magna Carta of King John. Its basis was not blood relationship, but residence within a given geographical area. Moreover,

economically, while the Indian practiced agriculture, he lived chiefly by hunting. Naturally he could not understand why the white man insisted upon robbing him of his hunting ground. On the other hand, the white man had passed much beyond hunting economy; he felt that the Indian wastefully used the land and therefore that he had a right to use it more efficiently. This brief outline of some of the different elements of culture of the Indians as compared with those of the white men perhaps gives one a clear notion of the conflict which inevitably ensued. Subtly working in the white man's mind was the opinion that his culture was superior to that of the Indian, and therefore the latter deserved no consideration at his hands. The Indian, on the other hand, felt as we should feel should invaders with a different culture settle upon our borders and proceed to divest us of our rights, to crowd us out of our land, and to subject us to their will. This was a conflict of culture.

The unrest in Oriental countries at the present time is largely the result of the conflicts of culture. China and India, with their long history and proud culture, feel that they are superior to the men who bring to them the materialistic culture of the West, with its physical science and its emphasis upon highly organized industry. On the other hand, the white man who has invaded these Eastern countries, has a sense of the superiority of his race. In the language of almost every people the name of that people indicates their sense of superiority. No wonder, then, that long separated cultures which come into contact excite a high degree of emotion on both sides. The Chinese are objecting to the "foreign devils" because these foreigners have manifested a feeling of superiority to them and to their culture, which to them is intolerable. The natives of India, while they recognize the important contribution made by the British Government, are stirred to their depths by the manifestation of what they believe is a sense of superiority on the part of the whites.

Another example of the consequences of the difference in culture was the resentment of the Western world at the assumed supremacy of German Kultur. Perhaps the last war was as much the result of a conflict of culture as it was of an economic conflict.

THE GENESIS OF GROUP CONFLICT

The origin of group conflict varies with different periods of human history and with the stage of social development. The wars which centered around Troy celebrated by Homer are supposed to have been caused by the theft of Helen by the Trojans. The conquest of England by William

the Norman, is supposed to go back to an ancient dynastic claim. The recent World War had for its immediate cause the murder of a Prince of Austria in the capital of a Balkan State. From all the evidence at hand, however, in all these cases, while war may sometimes be the result of the personal ambitions of an individual, usually at the bottom of them lie great currents of human feeling stirred by the consciousness of certain differences and the threatening of interests considered vital.

Economic Disturbance. Frequently class conflict arises out of the introduction of certain economic and industrial changes. Great economic disturbance occurred in the history of England when after the Black Death of 1348, which swept off from a third to a half of the people of England, the old relationships between the lords of the manor and the serfs or vassals were seriously disturbed. The feudal system began to break down, and new methods of agriculture had to be introduced. Because of the demand for woollen goods, sheep-raising became more profitable than ordinary farming, while at the same time it was easier to secure attendants for a flock of sheep than cultivators of the soil. The common lands of whole villages were enclosed to make sheep runs; large numbers of peasants were reduced to misery; class conflict slumbered until it broke out in movements of one sort or another, often culminating in bloodshed.

Again, the change from domestic industry to factory industry created a rift in the solidarity of the social population. Large numbers of the hand-weavers were driven to starvation, while factory owners amassed great fortunes by the exploitation of their workers. Naturally a class psychology arose on the part of the worker as well as on the part of the employer. While the old status of inferior and superior growing out of the feudal relationship, once established, resulted in little or no conflict because the relationships were personal, the new class consciousness, generated by the Industrial Revolution, because interests were no longer identical but conflicting, had a very different effect. A similar growth of class consciousness appears whenever there is radical change in economic arrangements. Thus, in the United States the growth of great corporations with absentee ownership and the consequent separation of owner and worker in personal acquaintanceship led to the growth of class consciousness and class conflict. Strikes and lockouts resulted. While a number of experiments in resolving the intensity of the conflict have been tried, such as welfare work for employees, stock ownership by employees, shop committees for the adjustment of grievances, and plans for joint control over conditions of work and rates of pay, the clash of interests between owners and workers has not yet been allayed.

Changes in Culture. A difference in the culture of different groups within a given population results often in conflict. When William the Norman conquered England and several thousand of his retainers became the over-lords of the country, the elements of a somewhat new culture were introduced into that land. A new language became the official language; a somewhat more highly developed religion was introduced by the conquerors; the status of the conquerors was superior and they made their superiority felt by their subordinates. For a generation or two the consciousness of difference between the conquerors and the conquered was very sharp. Frequent clashes occurred. A process of adjustment began which in the course of centuries was somewhat perfectly completed, and class consciousness disappeared.

When immigrants from another country arrive in large numbers, differences in culture are soon recognized. Hence, in this country, when large numbers of the Irish arrived in the early part of the nineteenth century, culture differences between them and the people already settled here were recognized on both hands. Again, with the coming of large numbers of Italians with different customs, traditions, a different language, and a different standard of living, the older inhabitants became conscious of the intrusion of an alien culture and dubbed these people "Wops" and "Guineas." While these differences in culture did not always result in conflict, they formed the basis of an attitude of superiority toward the new immigrants. Such attitudes increase the difficulty of what we call "Americanization," that is, the assimilation of these people in our culture. This consciousness of difference in culture accounts for many of the difficulties in forming labor unions in those trades in which there are large numbers of immigrants of different nationalities. Labor leaders find it very much more difficult to present a united front when cultural differences interfere with understanding and coöperation. Such cultural differences also affect progress in schools, health programs, the development of recreation, housing, and many other social problems.

While many of these conflicts due to differences in culture do not break out into open violence, they are none the less conflicts in the social process. They retard social unification, prevent people of different cultures from looking at things in the same way and uniting together for common purposes. They constitute one of our chief social problems.

Religious Innovations. Often religious differences give rise to group conflict more or less sharp. I do not now refer to the conflict of different religions, although such conflicts are an inevitable result of the contact of two different religions in a common area. However, within a given area

changes are constantly taking place in the development of any single religion. This is illustrated by a large number of Mohammedan sects, the different varieties of Buddhism, the orthodox and liberal varieties of Judaism, and to-day the Fundamentalists and the Liberal, or Modernist, Christians. Rooted as most of these innovations are in social conditions, and constituting as they do a response on the part of a few leaders to changed conditions in the lives of people, these religious innovations frequently lead to terrific class conflicts within a given organization. Consider, for example, the upheaval, which historically has been called a revolt, brought about by the Lutheran Reformation in Germany and the surrounding countries. All of us are familiar with the terrible results of that upheaval. It disturbed the social solidarity of Europe for centuries and remains still to-day a basis of frequent conflict. The Lutheran Reformation was only one of a series of innovations which have disturbed the peace of the church from the first centuries of the Christian era up to the present time. Perhaps the latest to develop is that rather fundamental division which has come about in the strife between the Modernists and the Fundamentalists in Protestant Christianity.

Assumption of Group Superiority. The most fundamental cause of class and group conflict is the attitude of superiority on the part of one class, or group, to another. It may be pride of race, of nationality, of culture, of religion, or of political system. It may take any one of a number of forms. As long as it is conceded by all people that there are higher and lower orders of social classes, and the relationships of these classes have become stabilized, there is very little danger of conflict growing out of superiority and inferiority. However, let democracy, or a doctrine of equality enter into the minds of men as it did in the Western world in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and these stabilized relationships between the higher and lower classes receive a rude shock, class consciousness develops, and class conflict is probable. As indicated above, the conflicts going on in India and China and all the Eastern world at the present time are reactions against this attitude of superiority on the part of the representatives of one kind of culture toward those of another. Moreover, in subtler ways this attitude of superiority appears in any given social group. Consider the gulf fixed between the common people of any state and the educated classes. Too often the educated people, especially those with higher education, feel superior to the common run of mankind. They show this feeling; they look with some degree of contempt on the common working man, or the ordinary legislator. This has its results when university appropriations appear before the legislature for approval. The educated specialist

despises the ignorance of most people on matters which are commonplace to him, and he allows this contempt to affect his whole attitude toward the common people. As a compensation these common people repay this contempt with interest and look upon him as a strange kind of human being. While the learned may dub the common people "boobs," they return the compliment by calling him a "high-hat," or a "professor," or a "high-brow."

The same attitude of superiority appears between the rich and the poor. Too often the man who has been successful in accumulating wealth looks upon those who have not done so as unsuccessful and therefore inferior creatures. All kinds of results appear from this attitude of superiority.

RESULTS OF CLASS AND GROUP CONFLICT

Out of this clash between classes and groups certain important social results appear, some good, and some bad.

Good Results. There is no question that certain good results have come about as a result of group conflict. The early struggle of tribes and groups of people resulted in the selection of those who were fitted to survive in a given situation. In that early period of group conflict without question war favored the survival of the superior. Superior in this case meant the class, group, or individual best fitted to survive in a given situation. That advantage was not, of course, unalloyed, and there were evil by-products even in that early day.

Even among modern groups something of the same good social results grow out of conflict. The superiority of a given culture often is demonstrated by violent conflict. To-day, however, conflict is on the basis more of applied science and ideals than on the basis of physical strength, or mental ability. The inevitable result of conflict, no matter how severe it may be, between groups and classes, is either the imposition of certain elements of culture upon the conquered, with perhaps some modification of the culture of the conquerors by infiltration from the lower culture, or a compromise between two rather equally matched groups and the integration of opposing views. As illustration of this point consider what happened in the Norman conquest of England and what happened after the Protestant revolt in Germany. One would suppose that a conquest as thorough and complete as that of the Norman conquest in England would have the result of overwhelming the culture of the Saxons and Danes by that of the Normans. As a matter of fact, however, that did not occur. The basis of Anglo-Saxon law, the language of the country, the religion, and

the customs and traditions remained largely that of the conquered people. Certainly they adopted certain elements of culture which the Norman conquerors brought over from France. After two hundred years, however, there had come about an amalgamation of the two cultures into a new culture composed of Anglo-Saxon culture as a base with some modifications introduced by the Normans.

One would think as he reads of the intense conflict between the Catholics and the Protestants following the Reformation that no modification would be possible on either side. One who reads the history, however, after the first burst of hatred had died down, learns that such was not the case. The Council of Trent for the Catholic Church introduced certain modifications and took over certain suggested reforms which constituted what has been called the Counter-Reformation. In other words, the Catholic Church attempted to capture some of the thunder of the Reformers. Moreover, within two generations after the Reformation had started, the reformed churches took over certain of the Catholic ritual and a large part of the Catholic dogmas and incorporated them into the creeds of Protestant Christendom.

Many other illustrations of this process of compromise and adoption of elements from the opposing culture might be cited.

Evil Results. Certain evil results have appeared as the effect of class conflict from the earliest period of history until the present time. One of the most outstanding of these is the riving of the social solidarity consequent upon class or group conflict. Open conflict brings to expression all the hidden hatred and suspicion which lie at the base of a conflict. The gulf already opening between classes is made deeper and wider for the time being. Take for example the conflict between the North and the South in the Civil War in the United States. The consciousness of difference which had been growing for nearly a century became sharpened and fixed as a result of that great conflict. The resolution of each side for the time being was stiffened. After a lapse of sixty years and more the gulf has been only partially bridged between the North and the South. Misunderstanding between the two sections is easily excited. It is true, however, that the lapse of time tends to heal old sores. In the end social integration will probably take place.

Another evil result of class conflict is waste of effort. Consider the useless words spoken, the non-fruitful efforts spent on sectional divisions over public questions in the United States. How much more constructive measures could have been adopted in our political problems in the United

States, for example, had the issues not been confused by the memories of the hatred and strife of the Civil War. How fruitless are many of the efforts put forth by Fundamentalists and Modernists in their strife over a dogmatic problem of the present day. How much fruitful coöperation has been prevented by the strife between the Catholics and Protestants in this country. These class conflicts have drawn red herrings across the path of progress and have diverted the attention of men from problems of greater social importance which needed settling so badly. How much money has been spent both on the part of labor unions and of employers in maintaining their respective so-called "rights" in the industrial conflict! There is no question that class conflict means enormous waste of effort.

Another immediately evil result of class conflict is the weakening of the bonds which hold us to some of the old loyalties, such as the family bonds, church bonds, and patriotism. Perhaps this is not wholly evil. Perhaps this means in the end the creation of a finer loyalty to family, church, and state. Nevertheless, immediately it has decidedly disastrous results upon these social institutions. How frequently religious disputes cut across family lines and dissolve family loyalty. Some of these evil results appear in the divorce statistics in the cases of families established by the marriage of Protestants and Catholics, or Christians and Jews. Many times these age-old conflicts result in the disruption of a family.

Consider the effect upon religion—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Mohammedan, or Hindu—of race antipathy or class conflict. A good example is provided by what happened in the World War. Consider the predicament in which the Catholic church was placed, with its adherents ranged on both sides of the great conflict. No less difficult was the dilemma of the Protestant churches, who had adherents on both sides. The church is in a peculiarly difficult situation in our industrial conflict. Which side shall it take in that strife which has risen over labor questions? Shall it hold with the property owner, the employer, the capitalist, or shall it take the side of the workman? It requires wise statesmanship to steer the ship of church in the troubled waters of industrial conflict.

The last war showed us the difficulties for thousands of our immigrant citizens and their dependents in maintaining loyalty to the country of which they are citizens rather than to the country from which they or their parents have come. Our German-American citizens were in a very difficult situation. They loved both countries, the old and the new. The war was a time of severe testing for many of them. In all these ways great class and group conflicts produce results which in their immediate aspects are evil.

FACTORS WHICH AMELIORATE GROUP CONFLICT

In the previous paragraphs numerous hints necessarily had to be dropped which showed that these group conflicts ultimately are settled. Let us now look at those devices which ameliorate the sharpness of the conflict and tend to bring about compromise and adjustment.

In the Economic Field. In the economic field new inventions giving opportunity to rise from one class to another, wide distribution of ownership of property, rapid industrial development providing a chance for energy and genius and for steady employment, lessen class and group conflict. Moreover, provisions for safeguarding the health, old age, or employment of workers, such as health insurance, old age and unemployment insurance, or other devices which lessen the hazards to health, age, and employment, tend to ameliorate the conflict between classes. Charity, providing for those who are unfortunate, devices for settling disputes between industrial groups or between nations, cut down the occasions for conflict and mitigate the struggle. Moreover, as we look back over history, how many of the great group and class conflicts could have been avoided had there been an appeal not to prejudice but to scientific investigation and a fair and full presentation of unbiased facts. The probabilities are that the last war would not have occurred had there been some impartial investigating body which could have studied the facts and presented an unbiased report. Many industrial disputes would not occur were there clear understanding on the part of both of the facts with reference to each side of the conflict. Science applied to all these fields and many others may yet solve class conflict.

In the Social Field. Widespread educational opportunity giving the chance to all who are capable of profiting by it is a mitigating influence on group conflict. That is the justification for the provision of education suited to the needs of her people now being made by every great civilized country in the world.

Another mitigating factor in the social field is the shifting of attention to new social values away from emotional prejudices and hatreds. For example, shifting attention to service to one's country, or to his city, frequently solves present conflict. As people widen the range of their interests, taking in philanthropy, art, literature, civic virtue, or any other great social object, class conflict, resting upon elemental emotions, tends to be dissolved and to disappear.

Widening political opportunity, giving everyone a chance to share in government to the extent of his capacity, tends to lessen the ancient strife

between the privileged and the unprivileged. The coming of a democracy, while bringing new sources of class division and strife, closes the gulf between ancient classes. Where, as in England and America, the humblest citizen, by his gift or the exercise of his talent, may rise to the highest office, the significance of the ancient political classes has entirely disappeared.

Moreover, equality before the court and the law, an ancient dream not yet realized, so far as it is achieved softens the asperity between classes. Once the peasant had no rights before a court which his lord was compelled to recognize. In theory each man to-day is equal before the judge. In actual practice this has not yet been realized. The man with money or influence sometimes still has the advantage. The setting up of the public defender, *viz.*, a man to defend the poor man against charges brought against him in the court, is a movement in the direction of equality before courts of law. Legal aid societies which provide good lawyers for the man who is sued for a small sum or to whom is owed a small sum, is a movement in the same direction.

Finally, socialized religion, that is, religion suited to the needs of the common man and adapted to the social problems of the day, is another factor ameliorating group and class conflict. Could all religions unite on the simple but profound teachings of the Hebrew Prophets and of Jesus, how the conflicts and struggles which have marked the history of dogmatic Christianity would fade away! Strife between Fundamentalists and Modernists in the light of the "Sermon on the Mount" and the twenty-fifth chapter of *Matthew* seems puerile and futile.

If this brief sketch of the significance of group and class conflict has any value, it makes clear to us how these conflicts arise, how certain of them are inevitable, and how constantly there is working in human society certain forces and influences which mitigate their severity, lead to compromise, and effect integration of the various groups into one great unity. The real problem is how to bring about the union of different cultures and different groups of men devoted to contradictory principles and practices, with the least evil results and with the ultimate combination of all that is socially useful. Professor Cooley has pointed out that these conflicts tend to become less personal by reason of the fact that men's loyalties are organized increasingly across different classes. A man is not only a Republican, for example, but he may be an employer or a laborer, a Presbyterian or a Roman Catholic; an educated or an ignorant man; a lover of art or a lover of fine stock. Group conflict is one of the inevitable results of social evolution. With the development of communication and trans-

portation, travel follows, men become acquainted with each other, groups learn to appreciate each other's culture, and the fundamental basis of class strife disappears.⁶

Socialization has become a reality.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. If the laboring man belonged to the rich man's clubs, and moved in the rich man's social circles, would he be as class conscious as he is at present? Why?
2. What effect does universal education have upon culture conflicts? Why?
3. What is the effect on class consciousness of the opportunity to rise from laborer to capitalist? Why?
4. Why has religion so often been divisive?
5. Explain why in the middle ages inferiority and superiority in social status did not create class conflict, while to-day the manifestation of superiority by a class results in resentment by the inferior.
6. How do you account for the rather favorable attitude of our people towards the Japanese at the time of the Russian-Japanese War, while now the people in California hate them?
7. How do you account for the lessening of social conflict between the Irish and the Yankees during the last fifty years?
8. Why do we call the Italians "Wops" and "Guineas," while we seldom refer to the Germans any more as "Dutchmen?"

⁶ The books in English from which the reader will get the most help upon the subject of class conflict are Cooley, C. H., *Social Process*, New York, 1918, pp. 241-268; Ross, E. A., *Outlines of Sociology*, New York, 1923, Chs. 12-17; Publications of the *American Sociological Society*, 1907, Vol. II, devoted to "Social Conflict."

CHAPTER 27

PEACE AND WAR

When the curtain first rises on the stage of history, men are fighting. The myths and hero tales imbedded in the early literatures of peoples celebrate the heroic deeds of warriors on battlefields. Even back beyond the written literature, since archæologists have dug up the ruins of old cities, explored caves and camping sites, we know from the battle-axes and other implements of warfare, from the cleft skulls, from the weapons buried with the deceased hero, mankind had learned the art of warfare. There may have been an idyllic period in the history of mankind. So far, however, there is little evidence of it. True, the stone implements found among the remains of paleolithic man do not seem to be as well adapted to warlike purposes as those of neolithic man. Nevertheless we know that, whatever weapons he had, with them he succeeded in slaying animals as large as the elephant, which would seem to indicate that with them he might also slay his fellowmen. Whatever the truth about the antiquity of warfare, for at least fifteen or twenty thousand years man has been engaged in the gentle art of making war upon his fellows.

PEACE AND WAR A PROBLEM IN SOCIALIZATION

With the dispersion of the races and peoples of mankind from the cradle of the human race, wherever that may have been, differentiation between groups set in. With the separation of groups differences of language, customs, traditions, inevitably arose. Within the last two thousand years of history have occurred those differentiations in language and other elements of culture characteristic of the Latin peoples, even in so narrowly confined a region as Southwestern Europe. Given the long periods of time since man first appeared in Europe, it is not difficult to understand how enormous changes took place in what may have been an original single culture; these changes would enable us to account for the differences in the cultures of the different groups, which when they later met, would make them alien to each other. The conquest over nature and greater control over food supply cut down mortality, and stimulated population growth. With the growth of population inevitably groups came in contact with each other. Groups with different cultures brought into contact with

each other and competing for access to natural resources inevitably came to blows.

Furthermore, we must remember that in the early history of mankind all social relationships were based upon kinship bonds. One who was related by blood either in fact or by fiction was a member of the group, therefore a friend. In the struggle for existence the qualities of courage, resourcefulness, invention, agility and cunning, were developed. Along with these qualities, however, the struggle for existence also produced between members of the group kindness, sympathy, and mutual helpfulness.¹ Such mutual aid, however, did not extend to those outside the group except under extraordinary circumstances, since broad human sympathy developed very much later than sympathy for kin.

Add to these considerations the fact that the points of concentration of population were determined by economic resources, such as wells in the desert, hunting grounds, and pasture lands. These natural resources upon which primitive man depended for his sustenance are not equally distributed over the earth. In a desert country wells of water or springs are a primary natural resource. Consequently, groups with herds of cattle pick such spots and fight over their possession. A good illustration from a very familiar book is in point. Isaac had migrated with flocks and herds to a place called Gerar. The account is as follows:

"And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them. And Isaac's servants digged in the valley, and found there a well of springing water. And the herdsmen of Gerar strove with Isaac's herdsmen, saying, The water is ours: and he called the name of the well Esek; because they contended with him. And they digged another well, and they strove for that also; and he called the name of it Sitnah. And he removed from thence, and digged another well; and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it Rehoboth; and he said, For now Jehovah hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land."²

Similar conflicts took place between the tribes of our American Indians with respect to hunting grounds.

The results of these various facts were conflicts and wars. Sometimes one group drove out the other, which then moved on to other places. At other times when the strength of the two contending parties was nearly equal, treaties seem to have been made, as well as some kind of a working arrangement for the occupation of the same territory. In the course of time

¹ Kropotkin, P. A., *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*, New York, 1904.

² *Genesis*, XXVI. 18-22.

in some cases federations of tribes and groups took place, such as that of the six nations in New York at the time of the early colonization of this country, or such as is pictured in the Bible as having occurred between Abimelech on the one side and Isaac on the other. The account is as follows:

"Then Abimelech went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath his friend, and Phicol the captain of his host. And Isaac said unto them, Wherefore are ye come unto me, seeing ye hate me, and have sent me away from you? And they said, We saw plainly that Jehovah was with thee; and we said, Let there now be an oath betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee; that thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not touched thee, and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in peace: thou art now the blessed of Jehovah. And he made them a feast, and they did eat and drink. And they rose up betimes in the morning, and sware one to another: and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace."³

In the case of both conquest and treaty sometimes assimilation of culture occurred, occasionally amalgamation of the two groups took place by reason of intermarriage, and finally such union of both stock and culture as made these groups one people came about. This we call "socialization." An illustration is provided by the probable history of the twelve tribes of Israel. It is quite likely that the people of Israel were the result of such amalgamation of various groups and the resulting socialization which came about by living together in a common area, sharing the same culture, and finally developing common institutions and a common political system. That the socialization was not complete is shown by the fact that in the later history of the people of Israel a political division took place between the South and the North. Did space permit the same process could be traced in the history of the people of the British Isles.

CERTAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EARLY AND MODERN WARS

There are certain similarities between modern and ancient wars, but there are also very striking differences. In our modern "race" theories we have survivals of the old conception of the blood basis of social relationships. Still most wars have grown out of, not race differences, but culture differences.

In modern times, however, we have an increasing emphasis on economic resources as the basis of social life. Similar at its root to the ancient hunger for watering places, hunting grounds, and pasture lands, the competition for economic resources at the present time is much more varied in its

³ *Genesis*, XXVI. 26-31.

objects by reason of the fact that we can make use of many resources which once were unusable, so that economic resources supply very many more human wants than they supplied among the primitive man. There are scholars who insist that all wars have had their root in economic desires. That however, is too narrow a view. Cultural wants have increased enormously with civilization; consequently the demand for natural resources which can minister to these wants has greatly expanded in modern times.

With Nations taking the place of tribes, political ties and political ambitions have more scope. The emphasis upon group aims and rights is perhaps even more intense than with a primitive tribe. Political doctrines have been developed to justify political aims and purposes. Moreover, the political ideas have taken up and worked into a consistent system cultural and economic desires, binding all these interests together in a doctrine of political sovereignty, and providing for war a justifying ideology which was lacking among primitive people. The economic aims are still there in full force; the cultural aims have not disappeared, but all these are tied up into a consistent system by the political scheme ordered and glorified by political doctrine. This characteristic of modern states has given a new basis for war by shedding on it the glory of a complex of social aims and purposes.

Moreover, through civilization populations have multiplied, means of communication have increased, transportation has been developed, and inventions have given man control over his world, such as has never been seen in the history of mankind. All of these things have multiplied conflicts by bringing into closer contact the various nations of mankind. With a distinct national consciousness and national pride, and with increased possibility of contact, conflicts were inevitable.

Inventions have given a new destructiveness to war; science has made its contribution by providing a knowledge of the processes of nature and applying our knowledge of these things to destruction, so that to-day war is a more serious matter than ever in the history of the world. This development of civilization in the Western world perhaps reached its climax in the World War. So terrible was the destruction, so frightful the waste, that the mind of mankind has been impressed with the social futility and uselessness of war. As a consequence, the minds of an increasing number of men have been turned to the question of peace and how to secure it.

As indicated above treaties and compromises have characterized group relationships from a very early period of history. Early civilized societies like the Greek city states found it important to provide methods for set-

ting their differences and for combination in the face of a common enemy. There resulted the Amphictyonic Council. With the rise of the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire these movements for peace were made necessary because of the so-called *Pax Romana*. In the middle ages, however, again occurred attempts at international arbitration. One of the most important of these early arbitrations was the dispute settled by Henry VI of England between the kings of Castile and Aragon in 1180. Frequently also among the feudal over-lords disputes were arbitrated by bishops or archbishops, by the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, by the King of France, and by the Pope. As a matter of fact, the Church took the lead in the development of this international arbitration. The incessant warfare of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries led to the decline of efforts at international arbitration. However, in 1729, by the Treaty of Seville, England and Spain established a mixed commission for the settlement of claims growing out of searches and seizures on the high seas. This, however, was not strictly an arbitration since the commission was composed of an equal number of citizens of each country. These early attempts seem to have had very little influence upon modern peace measures.

MODERN PEACE MOVEMENTS

Aside from the older efforts to provide methods of settling questions of international differences, modern peace movements date from the latter part of the last century. It is true that this movement was antedated by such measures as the Jay Treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain, which really marks an epoch in the history of arbitration. This treaty provided for the arbitration of boundary disputes between the two countries, of disputed debts and of neutral rights and duties. The boundary questions were settled by a mixed commission of three persons which rendered its decision on October 25, 1798, after two years of work. The mixed commission to settle the disputed debts was a failure because of the withdrawal of the American member. The matter was finally settled by the Treaty of January 8, 1802. The third piece of arbitration under this Treaty related to the claims of the United States for captures made by Great Britain in the war with France, and the claims by Great Britain on account of the failure of the United States to enforce its neutrality. After sitting for two and a half years until February, 1804, the claims were finally settled satisfactorily to both sides. Since the War of 1812 practically all the disputes between Great Britain and the United States have been settled by arbitration. The chief problems were those growing

out of the Civil War, which were settled by the Treaty of Washington providing for four arbitrations. Two of these may be noticed. One of these was the fur seal arbitration held in Paris under a treaty of February 29, 1892, in which the award was unfavorable to the United States; the other was that of the fisheries question, the award in which case was rendered by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague on September 7, 1910, which was generally favorable to the United States. Various other arbitrations have been held concerning the disputed claims between the United States and Mexico, the United States and Spain, the United States and Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Germany, and a number of the smaller South American states. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State at the time, in 1881 extended an invitation to all the American states to attend a general conference to discuss methods of preventing war between the nations of the Americas. This came to fruition in 1889 when the International American Conference assembled at Washington. On April 18, 1890, a plan of arbitration was adopted. The plan was never approved by the governments represented, but it marks the commencement of a sustained agitation for international arbitration.

The Hague Conference. The most important modern movement before the World War was the establishment of the Hague Conference. The first one met at the Hague in 1899 on the initiative of Nicholas II of Russia. He called it to initiate measures to provide for "the maintenance of the general peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which were burdening all nations." In this first conference representatives from twenty-six nations appeared.

The Conference failed to achieve any limitation of armaments, but did result in three conventions and three declarations, each of which was to be a matter for separate ratification. The first convention provided for the pacific settlement of international disputes and instituted a Commission of Inquiry and a Permanent Court of Arbitration accessible at all times to contracting powers. The rules of procedure were formulated and provision was made for the Constitution of Tribunals from the members of the Permanent Court. This court is really not a court at all, but a panel from which the members of these tribunals may be chosen on request of the parties in dispute. The second convention was a formulation of the laws and customs of war on land, with the intent of defining them more precisely and of laying down certain limits for the purpose of modifying their severity as far as possible. The third convention adapted to maritime warfare the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864. The declarations attempted to prohibit the discharge of projectiles and explosives from

balloons and by other similar new methods, to prohibit the use of projectiles containing asphyxiating or deleterious gases, and to prohibit the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily on the human body. In addition, this first conference adopted a resolution calling for the restriction of military budgets, and gave expression to certain wishes upon which international action was considered desirable. Some of these were embodied in the conventions of the second conference of 1907, and one calling for the revision of the Geneva Convention was carried out in 1906.

The Second Hague Conference convened in 1907 through the initiative of President Roosevelt, although the honor of summoning it went to the Czar, who called the first conference. The second conference was attended by the representatives of forty-four states. Its final act of October 18, 1907, contained thirteen conventions and one declaration. The three conventions of 1899 were revised, and significant additions were made, especially relating to the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Certain improvements on the Permanent Court, which proved to be the most fruitful work of the first conference, were made, the most important of which was the restriction upon employment of members of the Permanent Court as counsel in cases before it. The number of Commissions of Inquiry provided for was increased, one of the conventions attempted to limit the employment of force for the recovery of contract debt, but the most significant among the new conventions endeavored to regulate war rather than to prevent it. Some agreement was reached as to the matter of opening hostilities, the laying of automatic submarine contact mines, the status of enemy merchant ships at the commencement of hostilities, certain restrictions on naval capture, others dealing with the rights and duties of neutrals in war on land as well as at sea, and the creation of the International Prize Court. The declaration of the first conference prohibiting projectiles from balloons which had been limited to five years, was renewed for a period extending to the close of the third conference. Among the wishes of the Second Conference was the wish that the laws and customs of naval warfare be formulated in convention similar to those for war on land. Another suggested a draft convention for a judicial arbitration court which the conference hoped might become permanent. The last wish expressed was a recommendation to the powers for a calling of a third peace conference within a period corresponding to that which had elapsed since the preceding conference. The third conference was never called by reason of the outbreak of the World War.

While most of the conventions and declarations of the first conference were ratified by the states represented, many of the conventions of the

second conference failed of ratification by particular states. For example, Great Britain refused to ratify the International Prize Court, but out of it grew the Naval Conference at London in 1908, which resulted in the Declaration of London of 1909.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of these conferences was the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Arbitration set up by the first Hague Conference. Experience has shown that it was deficient in some respects, but the experience with that court laid the basis for later provision for the World Court provided under the League of Nations.

Along with these efforts to promote international peace, numerous benefactions have been given by various individuals in the Western world to promote international understanding and peace. The most important of these are as follows:

1. The Nobel Committee and Institute was founded by the will of Alfred Nobel in 1900. These are located at Christiania, Norway. Each year one or more prizes are given to the person who has made the largest contribution to the cause of peace. These prizes average about \$40,000 each; on five occasions they have been awarded jointly to two men, in 1901, 1902, 1908, 1909, and 1921. Three citizens of the United States have been the recipients of this Nobel Prize—Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Elihu Root.

2. The Jean deBloch Foundation and Museum established in 1902. The Museum is located at Lucerne, Switzerland.

3. In 1910 Edwin Ginn of the Boston firm of book publishers founded the World Peace Foundation with an annual income of \$50,000. For a time it published pamphlets under the general title of *A League of Nations*. These now come out bi-monthly under the title of *World Peace Foundation*. It provides certain documents of the *League of Nations* and is one of the most important sources of information in the United States concerning the activities of the *League*.

4. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was created by Andrew Carnegie on December 14, 1910, when he gave the organization a gift of \$10,000,000. The object of this organization, as outlined by the trustees at their first meeting in March, 1911, is to advance the cause of peace among nations, to hasten the abolition of international war, and to encourage and promote a peaceful settlement of international differences. In order to attain these objects, it promotes investigations as to the cause of war and practical methods of avoiding and preventing it by publishing information, by cultivating friendly understanding between different coun-

tries, and by promoting and assisting all agencies and organizations which will further the purposes of the Endowment. This Endowment took an active part in the last war and furnished a great deal of material for the Peace Conference. It has also published a great many monographs bearing upon the causes of the War. Its headquarters is in Washington.

5. The Carnegie Peace Fund is another benefaction providing \$2,000,000 which was set aside in 1914 to be used by the churches of America in the interest of universal peace.

6. The American-Scandinavian Foundation was established in 1911 by Neils Poulson. It was given funds exceeding half a million dollars. The purpose of the organization is to support educational intercourse between the United States of America, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

In addition to these endowed organizations there are a number of other modern agencies for the promotion of international peace. One of these is the Inter-Parliamentary Union started in 1889 by William Randal Cremer of the British Parliament, which has a membership of more than 3,000 from 21 national parliaments. Its program is to consider all proposals looking towards world peace, with special emphasis upon the preparation of work for the Hague Conference.

A similar organization, drawing its members from the parliaments of the three Scandinavian countries and confining its attention to matters of common interest to these three governments, is the Inter-Parliamentary Union of the North.

In the United States we have the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, which since 1895 has met annually except during the World War. Its place of meeting is Lake Mohonk, New York.

In addition to these important international organizations we have peace societies in almost all countries. These number several hundred. The first was established in 1815 by David Low Dodge in New York City. Together they combine to maintain the International Peace Bureau at Berne, Switzerland, as a clearing house for their activities. Under their auspices several International Peace Congresses have been held and they have had a marked influence in behalf of justice and international peace.

In addition to these organizations there are three institutions devoted to international law. One of these is the Institut de Droit International, a French organization. Another is the International Law Association of England, and the third is the American Society of International Law of the United States. These organizations enlist scholars and other men of influence in the study and advancement of international law.

It is apparent from this brief survey that at the outbreak of the World

War in 1914 there was a large number of organizations devoted to the promotion of peace. The inability of any or all of them to prevent that terrible holocaust, with its waste and carnage, impressed upon the minds of thinking men the importance of further effort to prevent war and to establish peace. Consequently at the Paris Peace Conference President Wilson at least was determined that measures should be taken which would limit war. The Covenant of the League of Nations was intended to be the most forward-looking instrument ever devised by man for the prevention of war. Young Americans should know just what this covenant provided for, therefore certain sections of it are herewith included :

“Article 8.

“The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

“The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

“Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

“After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

“The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

“The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

“Article 10.

“The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

“Article 11.

“Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise

and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall, on the request of any Member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

"It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

"Article 12.

"The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

"In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

"Article 13.

"The Members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which can not be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration.

"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

"For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

"The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

"Article 14.

"The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

"Article 15.

"If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with

Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

"For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

"The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute and, if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

"If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council, either unanimously or by a majority vote, shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

"Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

"If a report by the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

"If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

"The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

"In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

"Article 16.

"Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial,

commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

"It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

"The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are coöperating to protect the covenants of the League.

"Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

"Article 17.

"In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Article 12 to 16, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

"Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

"If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

"If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of Membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

"Article 18.

"Every treaty of international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

"Article 19.

"The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the con-

sideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

"Article 20.

"The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

"In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligation inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

"Article 21.

"Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace."⁴

In accordance with Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, a protocol was provided constituting the Permanent Court of International Justice.⁵

THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD PEACE

A survey of the history of the United States makes it plain that up to the close of the World War this country was in the front rank in promoting international arbitration of disputes between nations. A study of our history since the presentation of the Covenant of the League of Nations to the Senate of the United States by President Wilson, raises the question as to whether that leadership has been maintained. Space will not permit going into the circumstances which led the Senate to reject the Covenant. It is sufficient to call attention to the fact that since the time of Washington our policy had been against entangling alliances with European countries. It should also be noted that our famous Monroe Doctrine had led us to declare to other nations of the world that we could not look with favor upon any attempts by other nations to obtain control over any of the territory or countries of the Western hemisphere. With that fact, then, consider the political situation when President Wilson returned from the Paris Peace Conference and brought with him the Covenant of the

⁴*Handbook of the League of Nations, 1920-1924, World Peace Foundation Pamphlet, Vol. VII, Nos. 3-4, 1924, pp. 251-257.*

⁵This instrument is too long to quote here, but the substance of it may be found in any good encyclopedia, in a number of standard books, or the World Peace Foundation pamphlet referred to above, Vol. VII, Nos. 3-4, 1924, pp. 261 ff., or *A League of Nations*, Vol. 4, No. 3, June, 1921, entitled "Permanent Court of International Justice," published by the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.

League of Nations for presentation to the Senate of the United States for adoption. So dominant had he been in the political control of the United States in the World War that there had been little opportunity up to that time for a good patriotic citizen to oppose his leadership. Here was an opportunity. Opposing politicians made the most of it. Certain senators proposed several specific reservations to Article 10 of the League Covenant which provided for the use of force against a recalcitrant member, or even a state which was not a member of the League. Our people were war-weary. A considerable sentiment had developed among the men who went across, and that sentiment was communicated to the people here, that we had fought somebody else's battles and never again should our men cross the ocean for that purpose. The position of these reservationists was deeply grounded in our historic isolation and was backed up by popular feeling. President Wilson refused to accept any such reservation. The Covenant must be adopted as it stood, or be rejected. This stubbornness on his part probably prevented the adoption of the Covenant of the League of Nations with such reservations as probably would have been accepted by the other members of the League at that time. President Wilson started out to interpret the Covenant to the nation. On his first trip he broke down and entered that period of more or less permanent invalidism which continued to the end of his term and to the time of his death.

The opponents of the League had the ear of the people and in the presidential election the Republicans elected Mr. Harding. Out of the political debate of a presidential campaign the resolution of the Republicans has been stiffened against the Covenant of the League of Nations. The plurality given to Harding was interpreted as the popular justification of that stand. The platform of the Republican party in its Presidential campaigns for several terms had proposed an International Court of Justice. Harding advocated the adherence of the United States to the Protocol establishing an International Court of Justice. Harding, through his Secretary of State, suggested suitable reservations to afford ample guarantee to the point of view of the United States Government. These were acceptable to the European nations. Congress had adjourned, however, without acting upon the Court, in spite of Harding's recommendations. Perhaps one quotation from Mr. Harding will show what he thought about the matter:

"I may say frankly that it is inconceivable to me that the American people, who have so long been devoted to this ideal, should refuse their adherence now to such a program as is represented by this tribunal. Nothing could be further from the purpose of the Administration than to suggest that our country sur-

render any of its control over its own fundamental rights and destinies. But we may be sure that differences will always arise among states and peoples, precisely as they have always arisen between individuals; and just as courts of justice and equity have been set up to determine issues as between individuals, so it is proper and logical that provision should be made for a like adjudication of those differences between nations and peoples which may properly be committed to such determination."⁶

Mr. Coolidge, upon becoming President at the death of Mr. Harding, also recommended to the Senate the acceptance of the Protocol. Again, after his election as President, Mr. Coolidge in his message urged the adherence of the United States to the Protocol establishing the Court. However, the Senate made a number of reservations which were not acceptable to the European nations and Mr. Coolidge has declared that he does not intend to ask the Senate to eliminate those reservations. Hence, at the present moment (1927) the United States finds itself, with a few of the smaller nations of the world including Mexico and China, out of the League of Nations and almost alone refusing to adhere to the World Court. This is the nation which once held the leadership in movements for the promotion of world peace!

True, since the World War the American Government has promoted the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. President Coolidge also called the second conference on the Limitation of Armaments which met in Geneva in 1927, and failed. Such conferences, however, attack only one aspect of the great problem of world peace, and this aspect was provided for under the Covenant of the League of Nations. Here are two great instruments intended to preserve peace—the League of Nations, and the Permanent Court of International Justice. With our history can we consistently remain apart from these movements; shall we continue to propose either great generalities about international conferences, or special and rather trivial attempts to limit armaments? What have become of the pledges of the platform of one of our great political parties with respect to the establishment of an international court? If we refuse to adhere to the one already set up, why are we not busy trying to organize a different one? Because we well know that such an attempt would be futile. The other nations of the world are fairly well satisfied with what they have. Why should they change and destroy these organizations set up at so much trouble and expense and even at the behest of our representatives when we refuse to play the game and coöperate? As the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can we discharge our responsibilities without either joining the League and the Court or suggest a better plan? Some plan we

⁶ "The World Court," *League of Nations*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 17.

must have else in the next few years a repetition of the World War with perhaps even greater destruction both of property and of life will inevitably ensue. Let us hope that as the war-weariness wears away, as the American people come to see that they cannot live unto themselves, that as they come to recognize their share in the responsibility of keeping the peace of the world, they will take up their part nobly and coöperate with the other nations of the world in whatever plan may be devised or by the amendment of those already constituted, to bring to pass that dream of prophet and seer, that the nations shall learn war no more.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant by the statement in the text that peace and war are problems of socialization?
2. Why has the Industrial Revolution made war more probable?
3. What would you say to the statement that modern science has made war more likely?
4. Point out the chief differences between war in Old Testament times and war to-day.
5. Have the modern churches been as important in promoting arbitration between nations as the Church of the Middle Ages?
6. Why could not the Hague Conference and its Permanent Court of Arbitration prevent the World War?
7. Would you say that the various peace foundations in existence before the War had failed seeing that they did not prevent the War? Why?
8. What were the chief objections of the opponents in the United States to the League of Nations Covenant? What facts in our history gave popular force to those objections?
9. What in your opinion should be the attitude of the United States toward the League of Nations? Why?

CHAPTER 28

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

In 1925, according to Dr. H. K. Carroll, the churches of the United States had a membership of over 46,000,000. If the religious constituency of the churches of the United States is counted, that is, the number of persons who have been baptized, all adherents, and all those who in the supreme test of life or death turn to a particular communion, we get a total of almost 99,000,000 people.¹

No one knows how much money goes to our churches. We do know, however, that for 1924 the average amount given by 24 denominations, with 21,909,675 members, was \$20.68, or a total of \$453,082,077, in round numbers, a half a billion dollars. We shall not be far wrong, therefore, if we estimate that it costs the adherents of the churches of the United States at least a billion dollars for their annual support.²

What are the objectives of the hosts organized into churches for which they expend this enormous sum of money each year? Is it simply to insure their entrance into heaven after death? Have their purposes no relationship to the problems of our society?

The leaders of the churches recognize two great goals: (1) the salvation of the individual soul, and (2) social salvation. By the first they mean such preparation as is necessary to insure escape from hell and entrance into heaven, and the conforming of the individual's conduct here on earth to the moral standards approved by the church. By the second they mean producing in the individual *social* conduct, *i.e.*, conduct that accords with the highest aims of society, and so modifying social institutions as to make them favorable to the development of social character in the individual.

Certainly emphasis upon social conduct implies such adjustments of the social organization as will help the individual to attain the aims and purposes of salvation. As a matter of fact practically every Christian organization in the United States to-day recognizes its duty to labor for such conditions in society as conform with its doctrine of brotherhood and mutual helpfulness.

Note what this implies. All the problems we have discussed naturally

¹ *World Almanac*, 1927, p. 421; *Literary Digest*, April 28, 1923, pp. 31-34.

² *American Year Book*, 1925, p. 756.

are the concern of the church interested in social affairs. Many others which for lack of space we omit are also problems for the church. The complexity of these problems is great; the demands they make upon knowledge as well as upon conscience are enormous. They have challenged the best thought and the most earnest spirits the world has produced. There are differences of opinion concerning their solution, yet the church, committed to the doctrine that its duty is to help bring in the Kingdom of God on earth, finds itself face to face with them; it cannot ignore them.

WHY SHOULD THE CHURCH HAVE TO FACE SOCIAL PROBLEMS?

Some representatives of the church deny that it is the church's business to grapple with these problems. The church, they say, is concerned with the salvation of the individual soul. The organization of society is not its business. Others even go so far as to say "Let the world get worse and worse, let society continue in its course of degeneration, because when it gets so bad that the Almighty is unable any longer to tolerate it He will then sweep it aside and start a new and better civilization." This position, of course, is a flight from difficulty, a taking refuge in pessimism. Man cannot modify the civilization of which he is a part, therefore never mind it. This is a social doctrine of despair. It holds out no hope that society can be modified by the efforts of man.

On the other hand those who believe that the church has no business with social problems are not pessimists. They follow no philosophy of despair, but they doubt if society should be changed to make it easier for the individual to conform to the moral law. They stress the power of religion to so transform the individual that in spite of evil conditions he will live a righteous life. In this contention, of course, there is a measure of truth. To be sure, a social direction must be given to the motives and ideals of individuals before society can be transformed, but then, as modern social psychology shows, man's individual character is partly the result of his social experience.

These positions, moreover, ignore a number of facts. Historically the Christian church and prophetic Judaism, out of which the church sprang, did concern themselves with social problems. The problems of social justice, slavery, infanticide, exploitation of labor, an honest day's work, subjection of women, sexual vice, marriage and the family, all have occupied the attention of both the Jewish and the Christian churches. No one who studies the writings of the great Hebrew prophets can overlook their interest in social problems. One cannot read the Gospels or the Epistles of Paul and of the other writers of the New Testament without clearly seeing

that, in spite of the fact that they expected the return of Jesus in a very short time, nevertheless they did concern themselves with the application of the Gospel to social relationships.

The individualist in religion also fails to recognize that the individual does not live in a social vacuum, but in social relationships, and therefore the individual is changed more easily if the social environment is adjusted to a good life. How often have individuals started out to live a different life after conversion, and found it almost impossible to do so in the midst of their social environments!

We must not forget, either, that the ideals which the church sets up for the individual to follow are *social* ideals—justice, mercy, love, forgiveness, honesty, truth, purity are meaningless without social relationships. Indeed, one may say that these religious ideals are socially generated. Moreover, the church appeals to social motives: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye also unto them likewise" is the golden rule because of social motive. True, sometimes selfish motives have been urged as the basis of religious action, such as the fear of punishment and the desire for reward. Nevertheless, the motives appealed to predominantly by the leaders of Judaism and of Christianity have been the highest social motives—the gentleness of a father, the compassion of a mother, the joy of self-sacrifice for loved ones, and the idealism of social perfection—"Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect."

That the church has an obligation to face the social problems of its day is also due to the fact that many of these modern social problems the church has created by setting up standards of social conduct at variance with the standards which are the outcome of the selfish and egoistic motives of men. Therefore it has a responsibility for their solution which it cannot escape. Was it not Jesus Himself who set up the ideal of the Kingdom of God in which men should live as brothers? Who was it but St. Paul who said that "in Jesus Christ there is neither male nor female, bond nor free, but all are one?" It was another of His followers who said: "If a man love not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" The church has set up ideals of social conduct and standards of social relationship, and by that very fact has created some of these problems. Were it not for the religion of brotherhood, would it be so clear that the enslavement of one man by another is unjust; that the economic exploitation of one man by another is unrighteous?

Furthermore, the church has control over certain social sanctions without which the solution of these problems will be much delayed, if not definitely postponed. Through its pulpit it has a platform of public discussion

the like of which does not exist in any other organization. The spoken prophetic word has not lost its power. It can still cast down the mighty from their seats and it can exalt the humble. The churches in their doctrines of sin and repentance have an instrument unequaled in power by which to enforce social behavior. In its press the church has an educational force which cannot be excelled for sanctioning right social arrangements. The fear of hell and the hope of heaven do not move as many people as they once did; nevertheless, these sanctions are still in the hands of the church. It has power to stir the social emotions of man. Its appeals for sympathy, justice, brotherhood, righteousness, truth, fairness—all carry emotional content long established. In a word, the social idealism of the church is a power beyond computation.

Limitations to be Recognized by the Church. It is not contended that the church has all the knowledge necessary for solving each social problem. It must take notice of the facts and principles revealed by each of the social sciences. We can go further and say that the church, in its attempt to solve the problems of society, must take into account all knowledge which every science may contribute. It must heed the economist, the sociologist, the psychologist, the biologist, the political scientist, and the educator. Its contribution must be social ideals, motives, and sanctions. To it is committed the responsibility of developing in the individual a social attitude and of seeking in every way to realize in social relationships the ideals of brotherhood, of kindness, of justice, and equality of opportunity. The scientist contributes his knowledge of the way in which things operate. The church contributes its ideals of a righteous society and supplies the motives for the realization of these ideals.

Furthermore, it must recognize that its method is educational. It will secure social changes in the direction of the realization of its ideals by slowly and patiently teaching those ideals and endeavoring to find ways by which they may be realized in accordance with the findings of science. It will not be satisfied until these ideals are incarnated in the customs, folkways, laws, administrative agencies, and the public opinion of the community, so that they may be realized.

PROBLEMS THE CHURCH MUST FACE

It is impossible to name all the problems for which the church has a responsibility. In fact, it is impossible to think of one social problem to which the Gospel preached by the church should not apply. If religion is concerned with life, then its application is as wide as life itself. Let us

consider three of these problems as typical and as perhaps the most pressing at the present time.

Health and Disease. Professor Patten of the University of Pennsylvania one time asked the members of a seminar to write on pieces of paper what they thought was the one chief criterion by which to judge the efficiency and liveliness of a church. The various members handed in different replies. Some said that the criterion was the amount of money invested in the church building; others, the number of people attending the services; still others, the number received into the church; and others again, the kind of preaching which was to be heard from the pulpit. Professor Patten, after reading each of these replies and asking why the writer had chosen that particular one, said that he did not agree with any of them. In his judgment, he said that the chief criterion was the death-rate and the morbidity-rate of the community. Naturally, the members of the seminar were very much perturbed by this reply, and wanted to know his reasons. In answer he said that the chief concern of everyone was to live and to live well. He argued that if you had the death-rate and the morbidity-rate you had the basis for judging what was the attitude of the employers toward the employees, the standard of living of the community, regard for childhood and womanhood, the attitude of the community towards vice and crime, the attention paid to sanitation, and the attitude of the church toward these problems, because, said he, the church in any community can modify any of these things as it wishes, if it will. The astonishment of the members of this seminar shows how little we have connected some of the most vital affairs of life with religion. Some day it will be considered as sinful to sell dirty milk, as to commit adultery; to work people in places which induce tuberculosis and typhoid, as to forge a check, or to steal a neighbor's wash; to exploit one's employees, as to hold slaves; to break quarantine, as to break into a house; to live in a city with a high death-rate, as to live in Sodom and Gomorrah. Why is it not so now? Because we have not connected the church with this vital matter of life and death. If Irving Fisher is right, the progress of any people depends upon its state of health. Inventions grow out of abounding vitality.³ Health is a business asset which has much to do with the economic independence of people.⁴

Says Dr. Wilbur: "Our information at the present time, due to the studies of research workers all over the world, is such that we can say that if any well-situated community of fifty thousand people would adopt and put into practical every-day use all that we now know of medicine and

³ Fisher, Irving, *Report on National Vitality*.

⁴ Wilbur, "Health: A Business Asset," *Survey*, March 15, 1926, p. 678.

science, and all that we have been actually using in the control of many soldiers in war, there would be such an increase in human happiness and effectiveness, and such a decrease in sadness and inefficiency, that in ten years it would make that city the wonder of the world.”⁵

When we come to appreciate the importance of good health to the social welfare of our people and when we come to look upon the church as the agency by which the Kingdom of God can be brought on earth, then we shall begin to test the vitality of the churches, not by the number in attendance, or their architectural grandeur, but, among other things, by the death-rate and sickness-rate.

The Relations of Capital and Labor. Another problem with which the church is face to face is the relations of labor and capital, or the employer and the employed. The problem is not new but it is more pressing just now than ever before. It is at least as old as the New Testament. The problem finds its prototype in the relations between master and slaves in the Roman Empire. The early Christian church had to face that problem. The Christian solution is indicated by St. Paul as follows: “. . . not in the way of eye service, as men-pleasers; but as servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as unto the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that whatsoever good thing each one doeth, the same shall he receive again from the Lord, whether he be bond or free. And, ye, masters, do the same things unto them, and forbear threatening: knowing that he who is both their Master and yours is in heaven, and there is no respect of persons with him.”⁶

Moreover, the early church faced frankly the relations between the hired laborer and his employer: “Behold, the hire of the laborers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out: The cries of them that reap have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.”⁷

In spite of dismal departures on the part of the church and its leaders from these high principles through the ages of Christian history, there is no question that religion has now and again, both by word and by action, championed the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor; has urged the dignity of labor upon the worker, and the imperative necessity of treating the poor with justice and kindness. In spite of the increasing secularization of the church after the time of Constantine, again and again the spirit of Christianity burst out against the exploitation of the poor and in favor of the oppressed classes. Many of the early fathers saw the danger in monopoly and private property. In the middle ages the church forbade

⁵ Wilbur, “Health,” *Survey*, March 15, 1926, p. 679.

⁶ *Ephesians* VI. 6-9. ⁷ *James* V. 4.

interest-taking; it condemned monopoly profit, and taught the doctrine of a fair price and a just reward to the laborer.

Moreover, many of the monasteries emphasized the sacredness of labor and all of them provided a refuge from the inequalities and iniquities of secular society. All distinctions of rank were obliterated in the common term "brother"; all became equally poor.

Even the Protestant sects of Reformation and Post-Reformation times emphasized the protest against the exploitation of the poor by the rich, and preached a kind of fraternity of rich and poor in the church.⁸

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that with the breakdown of the medieval domestic economy and the rise of the modern factory system, religion underwent a severe trial. The theological controversies of the Post-Reformation period absorbed the energies of the church to such an extent that it failed to give consideration to the pressing social problems of the day. When almost two centuries later the Industrial Revolution burst upon western Europe, the church was still so intent upon its factional fights that it could not tackle the problems of the day. Yet here and there arose noble Christian souls who played their part in the protest against the evils of the new industrialism. The Earl of Shaftsbury found the expression of his own religious life in attacks upon child labor, the exploitation of women and children in the mines and factories of Great Britain, and did a great deal to start the movement for the regulation of hours and conditions of labor in that country. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that from the time of the Industrial Revolution until recently, the church has expressed very little interest in the strained relations between employers and employees. Supported largely by the employers, the leaders of the church have too often been blind to the sufferings of the poor, with the result that the working classes in industrial centers have largely been alienated from the church. Too often the church has counseled patience to the workman, reward in another world for the miseries of this, without attempting to face the conditions which produce the misery, and take a stand against unjust conditions in our social and economic life.

The consequence of this attitude of the church has been that false standards of sin have been established. Some day it will be considered as sinful to exploit workers as to swear, or to neglect your "religious duties." Some day it may be considered as sinful to "soldier" on a job, or do poor work, as to get drunk. Perhaps some day we shall all go to confession because we have bought a garment which has been made under unfair conditions. It was

⁸ Rauschenbusch, Walter, *Christianizing the Social Order*, New York, 1921, pp. 378-382.

cheap because it was made by exploited labor in a sweat-shop. In the fight between labor and capital in the industrial conflict of the present day, too frequently the church has felt that the strikers were dangerous people without taking the pains to try to understand why people would throw up their jobs for a principle, or why good earnest men, members of the churches, looked upon these strikers as vicious and pestiferous persons who must be shown their places. Too often the church has followed a policy of hands-off in any such struggle. The church could settle these problems if it would. As the self-confessed repository of the Gospel of Jesus the Christian church has plenty of warrant in His words to bring to bear upon these vexed relationships between men a gospel of brotherhood, kindness, and justice which would go far to settle the struggle between capital and labor. Says Bishop Turner, of Buffalo:

"The mission of the Church is to foster social justice. She has the power, I might say she alone has the power, to call a truce in the war between classes of society, to still the angry passions from which the conflict of class interests arises. Hers are not the remedies of the economist, but remedies that go deeper to the root of the evil. In every industrial injustice there is a moral factor, a moral element, and in dealing with this moral element she is at home and no one can deny her competence. The economic cure-all of to-day may be the discarded economic heresy of to-morrow, but hers are the principles of moral justice which never change. It is her prerogative to upbraid the oppressor of the poor, to take her stand as Ambrose did when he compelled the Emperor-murderer to do penance for his sins. It is equally her prerogative to restrain the lawlessness of the oppressed when a lawless course is taken. It is her mission to teach the right use of riches, to inculcate moderation and every kind of sobriety, to rebuke the sins of capital and labor alike and to hold up to all men the divine principles of justice and charity and fair dealing between man and man. It was said recently that our civilization is an economic civilization, that it is founded on material principles and knows only material standards of value. Alas, in common acceptance this is too true. But it is the mission of the Church to make our civilization once more a moral and spiritual civilization, to restore the higher values that one time prevailed and bring justice and charity to reign once more among men."^{*}

So also the Protestant sects and the Hebrews believe that religion has something to contribute to this struggle.

War. Another great problem which the experience of the last ten years has pushed into the foreground is that of war. It requires no long exposition to those of us who lived through the World War to impress upon our minds the terribleness of war. It is a social problem which affects every phase of our existence. It destroyed ten million of the young men of the

^{*}"The Mission of the Church," *Columbia*, September, 1924, p. 13.

world; other millions it left crippled for life; it disturbed economic conditions throughout the entire world. Three hundred and fifty billion dollars' worth of property went into its red maw of destruction. For a century the people of the world will live under a burden of taxation such as has never been seen before. Myriads of widows and children have been left helpless. Multitudes of men seek employment which is not to be found. Farmers in all parts of the world find their prices depressed because people who formerly bought, no longer can buy. Provisions for the education of youth are limited and cramped because the war debts must be paid. Every night millions of little children go to bed hungry because of the War. They will grow up with stunted bodies and uneducated minds because of it. All standards have been uprooted; social life dislocated, and religion brought into question.

In the early days of Christianity the attitude of Christians was hostile to military service. For a long time no one could be a member in good standing of the Christian church and be a soldier. With the change in the attitude of the Roman State to the church under Constantine, and later with the dominance of the church over the nascent nations of Europe, a great change came about in the attitude of Christians towards war. After the union of church and state the latter became the secular arm whereby the decrees of the church were carried out, especially with reference to heretics. The result was that the church became apologist for the warrior, and the war-like state. With the growth of nationalism national churches were recognized. The result was that the position of the church in its early days became compromised and war became looked upon as a laudable activity, especially if it was in accordance with the aims of the church. The only exceptions were such Protestant sects as the Quakers, Mennonites, and Dunkers.

During the World War, while a number of the leaders of the Christian churches had begun to look upon war as a great evil, as a whole the churches, both Jewish and Christian, actively upheld the aims of their respective nations. They were used as foci of propaganda for the aims and purposes of each nation. The Germans, led by propaganda to believe that their cause was just, felt that God was on their side; the Allies, believing that Germany had broken faith with little Belgium and was carrying on a war of aggression, felt that a just God could not feel otherwise about it than they themselves. Both prayed to the same God for victory. One could not but wonder what an All-wise God thought about the situation.

Out of the experience of the last War we have learned many things. We know now that propaganda in any country is so well organized that

the church cannot always tell which cause is just. There is no question that on both sides, in order to win the War, the leaders felt that a propaganda of hate was necessary. The only safe Christian policy is to stand for settlement of international disputes by calm deliberation and arbitration. Both justice and love demands such counsel.

In the case of one nation suffering apparent injustice from another, the church can still counsel efforts at understanding and love. It cannot teach to hate and be true to its Founder. In the last War practically the only religious body which came out of the War with its standards untarnished was the Quakers. They refused to be drawn into the maelstrom of hate; they decided to minister to the needy on both sides of the conflict. They sent commissions not only to France to help the suffering there, but also to Germany and Russia. Often misunderstood, nevertheless they persevered in bringing to the suffering non-combatants their ministrations of help. They consistently refused to fight but earnestly proposed to help those who were in need.¹⁰

Recently a new attitude on the part of the churches has been manifested. Their attitude toward the exploitation of China by the Western nations is a case in point, and their protest against the threat of the United States against Mexico in the oil dispute shows that a saner and wiser counsel has begun to prevail, and that they favor settling these disputes by arbitration instead of by war.

EVIDENCE OF A NEW ATTITUDE TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS BY THE CHURCHES

That a new attitude toward these social problems is rising in the church, both Jewish and Christian, is indicated by the pronouncement of the representatives of a number of these bodies in recent years. This new attitude is shown in the stand which has been taken by representatives of the churches especially with reference to the conflict between labor and capital. In 1919 the Catholic archbishops of the United States assembled in conference and prepared a pastoral letter in which they said:

"The right of labor to a living wage, authoritatively and eloquently reasserted more than a quarter of a century ago by Pope Leo XIII, is happily no longer denied by any considerable number of persons. What is principally needed now is that its content should be adequately defined, and that it should be made universal in practice, through whatever means will be at once legitimate and effective. In particular, it is to be kept in mind that a living wage includes not merely decent maintenance for the present, but also a reasonable provision for such future needs as sickness, invalidity and old age. Capital likewise has its rights. Among them is the right to a 'fair day's work for a fair day's pay,' and

¹⁰ Jones, Dr. L. M., unpublished doctoral thesis.

the right to returns which will be sufficient to stimulate thrift, saving, initiative, enterprise, and all those directive and productive energies which promote social welfare.

"In his pronouncement on Labor (*Rerum Novarum*) Pope Leo XIII describes the advantages to be derived by both employer and employe from 'associations and organizations which draw the two classes more closely together.' Such associations are especially needed at the present time. While the labor union or trade union has been, and still is, necessary in the struggle of the workers for fair wages and fair conditions of employment, we have to recognize that its history, methods, and objects have made it essentially a militant organization. The time seems now to have arrived when it should be, not supplanted, but supplemented by associations or conferences, composed jointly of employers and employes, which will place emphasis upon the common interests rather than the divergent aims of the two parties, upon coöperation rather than conflict. Through such arrangements, all classes would be greatly benefited. The worker would participate in those matters of industrial management which directly concern him and about which he possesses helpful knowledge; he would acquire an increased sense of personal dignity and personal responsibility, take greater interest and pride in his work, and become more efficient and more contented. The employer would have the benefit of willing coöperation from, and harmonious relations with, his employes. The consumer, in common with employer and employe, would share in the advantages of larger and steadier production. In a word, industry would be carried on as a coöperative enterprise for the common good, and not as a contest between two parties for a restricted product."¹¹

This same letter says with regard to international relations and war:

"Since God is the Ruler of nations no less than of individuals, His law is supreme over the external relations of states as well as in the internal affairs of each. The sovereignty that makes a nation independent of other nations, does not exempt it from its obligations toward God; nor can any covenant, however shrewdly arranged, guarantee peace and security, if it disregard the divine commands. These require that in their dealings with one another, nations shall observe both justice and charity. By the former, each nation is bound to respect the existence, integrity and rights of all other nations; by the latter, it is obliged to assist other nations with those acts of beneficence and good will which can be performed without undue inconvenience to itself. From these obligations a nation is not dispensed by reason of its superior civilization, its industrial activity or its commercial enterprise; least of all, by its military power. On the contrary, a state which possesses all these advantages, is under a greater responsibility to exert its influence for the maintenance of justice and the diffusion of good will among all peoples. So far as it fulfils its obligation in this respect, a state contributes its share to the peace of the world; it disarms jealousy, removes all ground for suspicion and replaces intrigue with frank coöperation for the general welfare.

"The growth of democracy implies that the people shall have a larger share

¹¹ *Pastoral Letter*, Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, D. C., 1919, pp. 61, 62.

in determining the form, attributions and policies of the government to which they look for the preservation of order. It should also imply that the calm deliberate judgment of the people, rather than the aims of the ambitious few, shall decide whether, in case of international disagreement, war be the only solution. Knowing that the burdens of war will fall most heavily on them, the people will be slower in taking aggressive measures, and, with an adequate sense of what charity and justice require, they will refuse to be led or driven into conflict by false report or specious argument. . . .

"One of the most effectual means by which states can assist one another, is the organization of international peace. The need of this is more generally felt at the present time when the meaning of war is so plainly before us. In former ages also, the nations realized the necessity of compacts and agreements whereby the peace of the world would be secured. The success of these organized efforts was due, in large measure, to the influence of the Church. The position of the Holy See and the office of the Sovereign Pontiff as Father of Christendom, were recognized by the nations as powerful factors in any undertaking that had for its object the welfare of all. A 'Truce of God' was not to be thought of without the Vicar of Christ; and no other truce could be of lasting effect. The Popes have been the chief exponents, both by word and act, of the principles which must underlie any successful agreement of this nature. Again and again they have united the nations of Europe, and history records the great services which they rendered in the field of international arbitration and in the development of international law.

"The unbroken tradition of the Papacy with respect to international peace, has been worthily continued to the present by Pope Benedict XV. He not only made all possible efforts to bring the recent war to an end, but was also one of the first advocates of an organization for the preservation of peace. In his Letter to the American people on the last day of the year, 1918, the Holy Father expressed his fervent hope and desire for an international organization, 'which by abolishing conscription will reduce armaments, by establishing international tribunals will eliminate or settle disputes, and by placing peace on a solid foundation will guarantee to all independence and equality of rights.'¹²

Moreover, a special department of social action has been organized in the National Catholic Welfare Council for the study of industrial problems. The effort is made to apply the Catholic teachings to the solution of these problems. A number of books have been published by this department bearing upon the question.¹³

The Protestant Churches. No less active have been the Protestant churches through their Social Service Commissions and through the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of the

¹² *Pastoral Letter*, pp. 70, 71.

¹³ See Ryan and Husslein, *The Church and Labor*; Ryan, *A Living Wage; Capital and Labor* (a pamphlet). Can be obtained from the National Catholic Welfare Council, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Churches of Christ in America, and through the Interchurch World Movement.

Did space permit, many leaders could be quoted who see the imperative necessity of the church facing the problem of international relations. Not the least significant is the World Alliance for International Friendship which met a few years ago in Copenhagen, Denmark. The purpose of this organization is to bring about, through Christian principles, international understanding, and thus do away with war.¹⁴ Another movement of the same kind is represented by the World Fellowship for a Christian Social Order which has held numerous meetings and has published many pamphlets on the subject of war. It is essentially Christian in its make-up and motive. Consider the following portions of the social creed adopted by the National Council of the Congregational Church at its Washington meeting in 1925:

"We believe in making the social and spiritual ideals of Jesus our test for community as well as for individual life; in strengthening and deepening the inner personal relationship of the individual with God, and recognizing his obligation and duty to society. This is crystallized in the two commandments of Jesus 'Love thy God and love thy neighbor.' We believe this pattern ideal for a Christian social order involves the recognition of the sacredness of life, the supreme worth of each single personality, and our common membership in one another—the brotherhood of all. In short, it means creative activity in coöperation with our fellow human beings, and with God, in the everyday life of society and in the development of a new and better world social order. Translating this ideal:

"I. Into education means:

- (1) The building of a social order in which every child has the best opportunity for development.
- (2) Adequate and equal educational opportunity for all, with the possibility of extended training for those competent.
- (3) A thorough and scientific program of religious and secular education designed to Christianize everyday life and conduct.
- (4) Conservation of health, including careful instruction of sex hygiene and home building, abundant and wholesome recreation facilities, and education for leisure, including a nation wide system of adult education.
- (5) Insistence on constitutional rights and duties, including freedom of speech, of the press, and of peaceable assemblage.
- (6) Constructive education and Christian care of dependents, defectives, and delinquents, in order to restore them to normal life

¹⁴ "A Christian Movement for Peace," *Literary Digest*, September 30, 1922, pp. 25, 26.

whenever possible, with kindly segregation for those who are hopelessly feeble-minded. (This means that such institutions as the jails, prisons, and orphan asylums should be so conducted as to be genuine centers for education and health.)

- (7) A scientifically planned program of international education promoting peace and good-will and exposing the evils of war, intoxicants, illiteracy, and other social sins.

"II. Into industry and economic relationships means:

- (1) A reciprocity of service—that group interests, whether of labor or capital, must always be integrated with the welfare of society as a whole, and that society in its turn must insure justice to each group.
- (2) A frank abandonment of all efforts to secure something for nothing, and recognition that all ownership is a social trust involving Christian administration for the good of all and that the unlimited exercise of the right of private ownership is socially undesirable.
- (3) Abolishing child labor and establishing standards for the employment of minors which will insure maximum physical, intellectual and moral development.
- (4) Freedom from employment one day in seven, the eight-hour day as the present maximum for all industrial workers.
- (5) Providing safe and sanitary industrial conditions especially protecting women; adequate accident, sickness, and unemployment insurance, together with suitable provision for old age.
- (6) An effective national system of public employment bureaus to make possible the proper distribution of the labor forces of America.
- (7) That the first charge upon industry should be a minimum comfort wage and that all labor should give an honest day's work for an honest day's pay.
- (8) Adequate provision for impartial investigation and publicity, conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.
- (9) The right of labor to organize with representatives of their own choosing and where able to share in the management of industrial relations.
- (10) Encouragement of the organization of consumers' coöperatives for the more equitable distribution of the essentials of life.
- (11) The supremacy of the service, rather than the profit motive in the acquisition and use of property on the part of both labor and capital, and the most equitable division of the product of industry that can be devised."²⁵

In 1910 the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church endorsed the following resolution:

²⁵ "Social Creed of Congregationalists," *Christian Century*, November 12, 1925, p. 1420.

"We are convinced that the church must throw her chief emphasis upon the value of human life. This is but reiterating what we have already quoted from the Lambeth Encyclical. The property right is merely one conferred upon the individual by the community. Morally it exists only in return for social service. It must in every case yield to the needs of humanity. No business interests, no profit however great, can warrant the deliberate deterioration of human life. Such a principle has clear implications. To illustrate from facts recently brought in a startling way before the public: No Christian employer can find valid ground for conducting an industry which requires or even permits the regular employment of men for twelve hours a day, seven days in the week, at a wage which necessitates the work of women and children that the family may live.

"Christian society ought not to permit the existence of any such industry which cannot succeed without the labor of women or children under unnatural conditions. 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren,' is the final test of our Christianity. The first care of the Christian employer should be not his profits but his men. He should think not so much of getting work out of them as of helping to form those habits of industry which contribute to health and character.

"The same principle governs the church's message to the laborer. It is her business to help him to understand his own struggle and its meaning. He must learn that it is development of the whole man which gives his struggle dignity. The better physical conditions and the opportunity for recreation and education and family life which he seeks, are not ends but means to the end of better men and women. His unions are justified through seeking such an end. When, therefore, he seems to stand for mediocrity, for the diminution of opportunity for individuals, for a purely class interest and spirit or for violence, the church must equally reprove. When in ignorance that his whole present advance springs from the life which the church preserves for the world, he attacks her or neglects her, she must reach out in tenderness to win him back. Only in sympathetic touch can the church find the way to that hold upon the life of the laborer which she has so largely lost.

"The final solution of all the problems which these remarks suggest lies, we believe, only in the steady increase of the power of Christianity in the community. The power of the Christian ideal of life and the supreme value of every human life, let the church show forth the one and proclaim the other, and her work will be well done."¹⁰

As long ago as 1908 the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, comprising over thirty denominations, set forth the following as the social creed of the churches:

"9. We deem it the duty of all Christian people to concern themselves directly with certain practical industrial problems. To us it seems that the churches must stand—

¹⁰ Glem, "Social Service in the Episcopal Church," *Survey*, November 5, 1910, p. 175.

"For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

"For the right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded against encroachments of every kind. For the right of workers to some protection against the hardships often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change.

"For the principle of conciliation and arbitration in industrial dissensions.

"For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational disease, injuries and mortality.

"For the abolition of child labor.

"For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

"For the suppression of the 'sweating system.'

"For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all, which is a condition of the highest human life.

"For a release from employment one day in seven.

"For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

"For the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

"For suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

"For the abatement of poverty.

"10. To the toilers of America and to those who by organized effort are seeking to lift the crushing burdens of the poor, and to reduce the hardships and uphold the dignity of labor, this Council sends the greeting of human brotherhood and the pledge of sympathy and of help in a cause which belongs to all who follow Christ."¹⁷

The Interchurch World Movement which ceased to function in 1920, and which has been pointed out as a dismal failure in the attempt to apply Christianity to a great industry, nevertheless, through its report on the steel strike in 1919, brought to a focus public attention on that strike, its causes and results, which doubtless has had much to do with the development of better conditions in the steel industry.¹⁸

The Jews and Social Problems. In July, 1920, The Central Conference of American Rabbis published what they called a Social Justice Program. It is as follows:

¹⁷ *The Church and Modern Industry*, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York, pp. 17, 18.

¹⁸ Johnson, "Facing Industrial Facts in the Churches," *Survey*, April 15, 1925, p. 100. See also *Report on the Steel Strike of 1919* by the Commission of Inquiry, The Interchurch World Movement, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Chairman, New York, 1920; *Public Opinion in the Steel Strike*, Supplementary Reports of Investigators to the Commission of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement, New York, 1921.

"Teachers and Sages in Jewish ranks have stressed in every age the need of applying the religious principles of Judaism to the problems of life. Therefore a statement by the Central Conference of American Rabbis setting forth its views on the perplexing social problems of our times is in complete accord with historic tradition, for, long ago, the great prophets of Israel gave voice to those ideals of Social Righteousness which today are recognized as the goal toward which humanity should strive.

"1. The Conference holds that the question of industrial peace and progress, which overshadows all other domestic problems, ought to receive immediate attention and can be solved only on the basis of justice to all, and in the light of the welfare of the State.

"Therefore, the Conference recognizes the right of Labor to organize and to bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing as an instrument by which to secure its rights at the hands of employers. It further recognizes the right of labor to share more equitably in determining the conditions of labor as well as in the reward.

"At the same time the Conference declares it to be the obligation of Labor to perform faithfully and energetically the work for which it is justly paid, and that, as hours are reduced and wages increased in keeping with the modern standards of life and happiness, Labor should not relax but intensify its efforts both as a return to the employer and out of regard for the public welfare. The Conference condemns all slacking and sabotage, and denounces as subversive of the safety of Society and of the well being of the Republic the use of violence in industrial disputes. It calls upon Labor as well as upon Capital to exhaust all the resources of peaceable settlement before resorting to the strike or the lockout. It maintains the welfare of the Public to be supreme above the interests of any class or classes.

"2. The inequalities of living and earning conditions, intolerable even before the war and rendered still more flagrant as a result of the world upheaval, demand immediate adjustment. The Conference commends heartily the exercise of initiative and the reward of application and talent on the part of Capital, and, at the same time, emphatically denounces the widespread exploitation of the people in the matter of the necessities of life. The Central Conference of American Rabbis calls upon the constituted authorities to restrain and discipline all profiteers and manipulators who make the lot of the people hard and bitter with want and privation. It strongly disapproves of the substitution of secret agreements in place of open competition as a result of which prices are raised artificially and unnecessarily. It condemns officials, both in high and in low places, for failure to enforce the laws designed to curb extortion; more so, it denounces such officials and semi-official agencies as deceive the public with pretended activity against malefactors. It likewise condemns those labor groups which take advantage of abnormal conditions to diminish their output deliberately, thereby seriously affecting public welfare.

"5. The Conference declares its abhorrence of lynching and denounces all who share in or abet this brutal practice. It advocates the enactment of Legislation which shall make lynching a Federal offense."¹⁹

¹⁹ "Social Justice Program," *Survey*, September 1, 1920, p. 654.

Men on both sides of the economic struggle are beginning to try to apply Christian principles to the settlement of the difficulty. For example in 1920 a teamsters' strike threatened in Wheeling, West Virginia. They had religious services every morning conducted by a regularly ordained minister, and proposed to have the matter settled on the basis of Christ's teachings. It is reported of them:

"The teamsters are accepting the teachings of Jesus at their face value, with no mental reservations. They have laid their case before the churches of this city. They have signified their willingness to test out the declaration of the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly that the teachings of Jesus can be applied to modern industrial problems. They have invited ministers of all denominations to address their meetings; they have attended services in churches; they have proved that they are not 'rough-necks,' or irresponsible disturbers of the peace; proved that they are merely American workingmen, trying to be husbands, and citizens, and fathers of the children who are to be the citizens of the next generation."²⁰

In a sudden strike of mill-workers in Wheeling, West Virginia, a prominent business man suggested to the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly that the dispute be settled on the basis of Christian principles. The Labor Assembly announced the following resolution:

"First, Be it hereby resolved, that we, the duly elected delegates representing all of the organized crafts of the Wheeling district, do hereby unanimously declare it to be our belief that the teachings of Christ constitute a platform upon which all men can agree.

"Secondly, That we believe they can be applied to modern industrial problems.

"Thirdly, That we will coöperate with those who will join with us in an earnest endeavor to apply his teachings in the Wheeling district.

"Fourthly, As further evidence of our sincerity we have duly appointed a committee of three to confer and decide what methods shall be pursued."²¹

Here and there captains of industry are considering their responsibilities as Christian men. Mr. John J. Eagan, a business man in Atlanta, Georgia, who was president of the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, in Birmingham, Alabama, before his death announced that his business policy would be based on a literal interpretation of the teachings of Jesus, gave the workers in his plant a share in the management of the business, organized a board of operatives, and willed to them all of his common stock in the American Cast Iron Pipe Company. In his will he said:

²⁰ "Introducing Christ into Industry," *Literary Digest*, April 3, 1920, p. 40.

²¹ *Ibid.*

"I hereby give, bequeath and devise ten hundred and eighty-five (1,085) shares of the common stock of the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, being all of my holdings of said common stock of said company to the members of the Board of Management and the members of the Board of Operatives of said American Cast Iron Pipe Company, jointly, and their successors in office in said boards, as trustees. It is my will and desire that said trustees in the control of said company, through the control of said common stock, shall be guided by the sole purpose of so managing said company as to enable said American Cast Iron Pipe Company to deliver the company's product to the persons, requiring it, at actual cost, which shall be considered the lowest possible price consistent with the maintenance and extension of the company's plant or plants and business and the payment of reasonable salaries and wages to all the employees of said company, my object being to insure 'service' both to the purchasing public and to labor on the basis of the Golden Rule given by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."²²

Did space permit, many utterances of the leaders of the Christian church could be given showing their interest in the application of the principles of religion to the settlement of social problems. Bishop Lines, of Newark, New Jersey, in opening the Forty-Seventh Triennial Convention of the Episcopal Church at Portland, Oregon, said:

"The Church can not countenance violent methods, or an unfair day's pay, or an unfair day's work, or the breaking of agreements, but it must never lose its interest nor forget its obligation in the Master's name for the great multitude in the hard places in life. It must be able to give voice to the aspirations and hopes and desires of this multitude for something better in life for themselves and their children. Out from unspoiled homes are to come those who shall maintain the life of the Church and the service of religion. The Master's heart went out to those who had the least in the way of possessions or opportunity in life, and so must the heart of the Church. Our Blessed Lord came into the world to get under that heavy burden which rests upon the great majority of men and women, and wo is to the Church if, with His spirit and example, it does not try to get under that burden also.

"I know very well how strongly many of our people feel because of utterances in the name of Social Service which seem radical and unwarranted, but it is much better for men and women coming to know and feel the wrongs and hardships associated with the order which we have accepted and tried to think Christian, to cry out against it, using strong language, than that the Church should be silent. I wonder not that the world is in revolt against the old and existing order, whether it be in society or industry, or in customs and manner of living. It is largely a revolt against suppression and worn-out customs and traditions, and it had to come in a world which was settling down under the impression that money-making and selfish prosperity and pleasure seeking are the main things in life."²³

²² *Survey*, May 15, 1924, p. 215.

²³ "A Bishop's Appeal for the Lowly," *Literary Digest*, September 30, 1922, p. 27.

In fairness it must be recognized that such utterances do not represent the united voice of all the leaders. Some are hesitant or doubtful. There can be no doubt, however, that an increasing number of men in the church and outside it are coming to feel that the pressing social problems of our day cannot be solved except through the application of the religion of the Prophets of Israel and the teachings of Jesus. The burning words of Amos, Hosea, and Micah, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the penetrating utterances of Jesus in His "Sermon on the Mount" cannot be stifled. However men may seek to keep apart their business, their politics, and their religion, it cannot be done. Life is one. Slowly but surely as we try every other remedy and see it fail, and as we perceive the depth and meaning of religion for daily life, an increasing number of men are becoming convinced that the age-old struggle of human kind with the circumstances of life cannot be solved except by the application of the principles of the great leaders and prophets of mankind to the problems which arise. War will not be prevented by a balance of power alone. The economic struggle will not be settled by a stalemate of force. Whether we will or no, we shall fail to solve these problems unless we come to look upon each other as brothers whose struggles and whose difficulties are common and whom we are willing to meet on common ground in a spirit of fraternity, fellowship, and helpfulness. The "Sermon on the Mount" has not lost its power. St. Paul's pregnant utterance that "God has made of one blood all men for to dwell on all the face of the earth," has a significance for our social relations. The golden rule of Jesus has a meaning for both employers and employees which needs only to be applied in order to settle difficulties. Paul's statement that our bodies are the temples of the Holy Spirit cuts deep into our disregard of health measures. Jesus' saying that "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword" cannot be ignored in the presence of international misunderstanding. The Apostle's statement that "He who loveth not his neighbor whom he hath seen cannot love God whom he hath not seen" goes to the root of human selfishness and has a relevancy to the problems of war and of economic struggle.

The church, in spite of its wobbling on these problems, is more awake to-day, perhaps, than ever in its history. More clearly than ever it sees that it cannot ignore these problems of human relationship. Into its hands has been committed the Gospel of fellowship and of love. Upon it has descended the mantle of its departed Lord. Obscure them as it will it cannot forget the memory of His words, and there, behind two thousand years of history with all their sadness and forgetfulness of Him, with squabbles over theological dogma and struggle for worldly power, stands the pro-

found figure of the Galilean carpenter who dared to teach His disciples to pray that the Kingdom of God should come on earth and His will be done here as in heaven.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Distinguish between "individual" salvation and "social" salvation.
2. How would you justify the expenditure of \$1,000,000,000 a year for the support of the churches of the United States?
3. In what sense is it true that the churches are responsible for social problems? For what problems are they responsible?
4. Should the churches attempt to settle economic problems? Political problems? Health problems? Why?
5. Why is the church interested in these problems? What should be her part in their solution?
6. Do you think that the charge often made that the church is meddling in affairs that do not concern her when she sets up standards of "social justice" in connection with disputes between labor and capital, when she urges the necessity of peace between nations, is justified? Why?
7. What is your opinion of the statement that "religion is an opiate to put to sleep the social aspirations of the downtrodden?" Why?

CHAPTER 29

SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

These various social problems we have been discussing are the results of imperfect socialization, meaning by the term *such adaptation of the individual to the requirements of the group in which he lives as makes his conduct conform to the purposes and ideals of that group; and such adjustment of the machinery of the group, including its ideals, its mores, and behavior patterns to the capacities of the individuals in the group as to provide the individual with a degree of expression of his basic wishes adequate to enable him to function happily and usefully in his social relationships*. In other words, the individual unable to adapt himself to the requirements which the group has laid down for its members creates problems for that group. These problems may be that of poverty, of crime, of immorality, of family disorganization, of ill health, and of the breakdown of group solidarity. On the other hand, if society has not adjusted its behavior patterns to the capacities of its individuals and has failed to provide in its social institutions and the organization of its life for the less capable members of its group, or if it has failed to provide for the superior members of its group the opportunity to express their fundamental social urges in socially constructive ways, we have the lack of socialization. With this adjustment between the individual and the group fairly effective socialization is inevitable.

Why We Behave as We Do. How we behave depends upon a number of factors. The first of these factors is *our inborn qualities*. Every individual comes into the world with certain inborn tendencies. Biology has now revealed to us enough concerning heredity for us to know that each individual's behavior depends somewhat upon the characteristics which have been transmitted to him by his parents through the germ plasm. Not only are the color of our eyes and of our hair, our size and weight determined by heredity, but also the basic nervous organization of each individual depends upon the characteristics of his ancestors. How much these inborn characteristics or tendencies determine our responses to given situations we do not yet know. We are quite certain, however, that they determine our bends and trends in a fundamental way. We do not get thoroughbred shorthorn cattle from scrubs, prize racing horses from broncos, human

geniuses and leaders of the race from a pair of morons, any more than we gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. We behave as we do, in part at least, by reason of the characteristics which have been transmitted to us by our ancestors.

Again, we behave as we do *by reason of our responses to the experiences of life* from our earliest days until our characters are formed. The various stimuli, therefore, in our environment, whether they be inanimate or animate, whether they be the beauty or grandeur of nature, or the examples and suggestions of our fellow-men, determine, together with our inborn qualities, how we act. There is a school of Anthropogeographers who maintain that the institutions of mankind and the reactions of individuals are, directly or indirectly, the results of his natural surroundings. To what extent this is true we are as yet unable to say. Nevertheless, there seems to be substantial grounds for belief that our physical surroundings have something to do with the way in which we behave. Certainly this is true with respect to our economic activities, and possibly to a degree also with respect to our institutions, our thoughts, and our ideals.

Even more important than the surroundings of physical nature is the human environment. From our earliest days as infants we are subject to almost unceasing stimulation from other human beings. Our mothers, our nurses, our playmates, our neighbors, our school friends, our college friends, and the personalities who influence us through their books, their pictures, or their music, all stimulate us to respond in one fashion or another. All unconsciously our characters are formed by the way in which we respond to these circumstances of life.

Again, pressing upon us like an atmosphere of which we are mostly unconscious, and to which we respond by acquiescence or revolt, are the patterns of behavior which have been set up as approved by the members of our group. In the family into which we were born certain types of behavior are tolerated and others are tabooed. Adjustment to these patterns of behavior is enforced in different ways by different parents. Furthermore, every group into which we enter thereafter, like the neighborhood play group, the church, the school, the gang which meets on the corner, the little group accidentally meeting at the cross-road store, all have patterns of behavior to which we must respond in one way or another. The most common mode of response is acquiescence. These groups have appropriate means by which to bring the recalcitrant individual into line.

On reflection it is at once apparent that sometimes these various groups present us diverse and even contradictory patterns. When we become conscious of this difference in standards of behavior, a conflict arises within

us. These conflicts provide the problems of maladjustment for the individual. To which pattern he will conform is a question which he must settle for himself. Furthermore, if our group patterns change either by our going into another group, such as often occurs when a family moves from one neighborhood to another or migrates from one country to another, new problems of individual adjustment arise.

Again, how we behave depends upon *the pressure of the group in which we live to make us conform to its pattern*. That pressure may be severe and brutal with the result that we may conform against our will from fear of consequences. Examples of this reaction are provided in the family when the child is dominated by the parent or parents, or one of the older children. The child may acquiesce in the demands made upon it, often with very serious results to its emotional life. Again, some welfare worker tries to force conformity to his ideas or standards, without thinking of the results. An illustration of this is provided by the case of Francesca, born in Poland and coming to America as a young girl. She married a man with a child of his own. After a time he died leaving her with eight children. The pattern set for individuals in Poland was to own a piece of land and to care for one's own children. Francesca, faced with this serious burden, struggled as best she could to keep the family together and to continue paying on the piece of land which her husband had bought. She was unable to make enough money to keep the family and to pay for the land. Into this situation came a social worker genuinely interested in helping her solve her problem. However, this social worker did not understand the ideals and patterns which had been generated in Poland. Therefore, she tried first to take the children away from Francesca so that she could more adequately provide for herself and pay for the land, and finally, suggested very sharply that she ought to sell the land. Francesca, unwilling to do either of these, proved to be stubborn and uncoöperative.¹

On the other hand, the pressure of the group pattern upon an individual may be gently adjusted to his nature and attitude. The skillful parent, teacher, or social worker will be able to bring the individual to his point of view more frequently and more effectually by this method than by force and threat. This method of applying pressure may again be illustrated by the case of Francesca. Another social worker was placed upon the case who had an understanding of the Polish background of this woman and who realized that one must not do things *for* people but *with* them. She sympathetically entered into the case, discussing it frankly with Francesca,

¹Vlachos, "The Tale of Francesca," *The Family*, February, 1927, p. 314.

and making the plans, not *for* her, but *with* her. She secured the services of the Polish priest, in whom Francesca had every confidence, to get the process started. She never told Francesca what she must do, but talked over with her what she ought to do, always gently insinuating her suggestions and leaving it to Francesca to decide for herself. The result was that in a short time, instead of a stubborn, uncoöperative client, the social worker had a responsive attitude both on the part of Francesca and of her children. Thus she was able to impress upon this Polish family with its background of the Old Country, a conduct pattern in conformity with the ideals of the American group.

Once again, behavior depends upon *the similarity or difference of the behavior forms of the group to which the individual now belongs, as compared with those to which he has been habituated*. For example, a child in a family may have been accustomed to certain types of behavior. Then he starts to school. There he finds himself a member of a group which is made up of children from other families where different patterns have been dominant. In the give-and-take of personal intercourse on the playground and on the street certain members of the group dominate and set the standards of behavior. Often these forms are quite at variance with that to which the child has been accustomed. Adjustment of some kind must be made in the child's feelings and in his behavior.

A youth comes from his home community to a college or university; or he migrates to the city and secures a job. Here, again, he may find the behavior patterns set him by his fellows quite diverse from those to which he has been habituated.

Or again, he may migrate from one country with its background of behavior forms to another with patterns of quite a different nature. The case of Francesca, just cited, is a good illustration. The peasant girl did not find it very difficult to adjust herself to the new conditions of her adopted country until a crisis was reached in the household affairs where the customs of land ownership and the control of one's children came into conflict with the behavior thought best by the first social worker, who did not possess intelligence and knowledge. The result was a serious emotional strain on the part of Francesca which almost ruined the family.²

The ability of the individual to adapt himself to the forms of conduct approved by the group of which he is now a member, measures the degree of his socialization. The possibility of his changing his attitude to effect that adjustment, depends partly upon his own nature and partly upon the

² Vlachos, "The Tale of Francesca," *The Family*, February, 1927, pp. 3-4 ff.

difference or similarity of behavior patterns in the two groups concerned, and upon the skill with which his new neighbors endeavor to induce a new attitude toward the social circumstances of his life.

THE RÔLE OF ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNS IN SOCIALIZATION AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

The attitude of the individual, whether determined by his inherent nature, or by his experiences of the past, often creates problems for society to solve. Only as society, through its various institutions and organizations, permits the individual to realize his fundamental wishes in ways consistent with the patterns of the group, is conflict prevented. Certain wishes and values the individual possesses. If they are consistent with the aims and customs of the society to which he belongs, then the problem for society is to discover methods by which he may adopt those patterns without denying his fundamental wishes.

The conflict of new behavior forms with established mores of the people creates many social problems. This fact is illustrated from many fields of social life. Let us take the attempt in Wisconsin to regulate public dance halls as an example. Says a report:

"In estimating the effectiveness of this system of county regulation, it must be considered that the system is a new one, having been in operation only a few months in some of the counties studied; that the character of the problem presented varies greatly from county to county, making regulation much more difficult in some counties than in others; that public opinion on the subject has been more active and better organized in some counties than in others; and that even in those counties where there are the most serious conditions in dance halls, it is necessary to judge whether conditions were not still worse before the present ordinances went into effect. In some counties officials complain of lack of public support; in others civic organizations complain of lack of earnest coöperation from the officials concerned in the enforcement of the dance hall law. In counties where the regulation seems to be effective and conditions have been improved, it appears that public sentiment is strongly and generally in favor of enforcement. In one county where enforcement is lax and conditions bad such sentiments were expressed by officials and citizens as: 'Everyone is doing it. We are in the drift of the times' and what can you do?' 'So many of the so-called best people are involved that it is hard to propose a remedy.' 'Inspectors turn their backs and see nothing. If I were acting as inspector I should do the same thing because one cannot get any backing.' 'The county dance hall situation is impossible. It is useless to try to regulate drinking and sex immorality among older people. Public sentiment is all with those who want a good time and a drink.'"³

³ *Journal of Social Hygiene*, January, 1927, pp. 4, 5.

Constant modifications of the patterns approved by the group are made by insurgents. That is to say, the patterns of any society are constantly changing by reason of the ideas and attitudes of inventive or revolting individuals. New facts in science are discovered. They become common mental property. Those who possess them first change their own attitude toward an established form of behavior and then become centers of influence for their modification. A new philosophy arises. Again, certain individuals are affected by it and lead the way in modifying certain standards of group behavior. Illustrative of these two facts is the enormous change in forms of conduct due to the new science and new philosophy of the last fifty years. A new world of ideas has come into being. This new world of ideas has generated new attitudes for individuals by providing a rational realization of the wishes in new behavior frames. I am not arguing that the new tendency is socially good; I am only endeavoring to explain why we have problems of social adjustment and how maladjustments are brought about. Without a question, however, this new world of ideas has generated a different attitude on many of the relationships of life in individuals affected by it. The old and approved forms have been very seriously modified as more and more of the members of any given group have been affected by these ideas.

Take another example. The proper attitude toward the beggar approved by the group of a former day was "Give to him lest you may pass by a worthy person." New ideas on philanthropy generated by careful observation of the results of indiscriminate giving has created in observant individuals a new attitude toward the beggar. With the growing number of such individuals a new form of behavior for the group has begun to make itself manifest, *viz.*, that before giving to the beggar one should know about his past history and then treat him in a way that will restore him to independence.

Take the attitude of society toward the criminal. The approved attitude which grew out of the old classical penology, based upon the theory that everyone is free to do good or evil, and that therefore all who commit a certain crime should be treated in the same way, is being very seriously modified. As the result of the work of Lombroso in Italy and those who have more carefully studied the matter since, it is coming to be seen that no matter what our theory of free will and determinism may be, the experiences through which one goes in early life have a very serious effect upon his conduct. It has also been observed that uniform treatment for the same offense does not produce uniform results. Here and there individuals have had their attitudes changed by this new knowledge and gradu-

ally a new pattern of conduct towards the delinquent has been developing. That form of conduct now includes careful investigation of all facts of the case and the endeavor to adjust social treatment to the delinquent so that if possible he may be reformed, or if not, he may be segregated from society for its protection.

Furthermore, established behavior patterns resist the new attitude for a long time with resulting conflict between the attitudes of individuals and the established conduct norms of the group. Illustrations of this may be seen in many fields of human behavior. In the course of American history, due to causes which it is not necessary to relate, a protective tariff system has come to be looked upon as the cause of American prosperity. On the other hand, in England just the reverse is true, where the free trade policy was looked upon as the cause of its prosperity. Consequently, both in England and in the United States, individuals who have been moved to take an attitude contrary to the established tariff doctrine, have had a terrific battle on their hands. In the South the theory has prevailed that "the negro should keep his place." The consequence has been that the behavior pattern for the white man was dominance of the negro, an attitude of superiority, and at the same time kindly consideration for the negro's welfare. In the North, on the other hand, growing out of the Civil War and the discussion of the negro problem antecedent thereto, the proper behavior for a white man toward a colored man was to concede equality of opportunity, at least in the industrial and educational world. Consequently, a Northern man in a Southern community was likely to find himself in conflict with the dominant pattern of the group, and likewise the Southern man in the North.

Again, from the old patriarchal family came the theory that "children should be seen and not heard." The resulting behavior pattern is the subordination and obedience of children, whether the request of the parent be reasonable or not. Recent times, however, have seen a very great change in the attitude of some of our leading people toward children. They have felt that children should not be subordinated and repressed in this way, but should be developed. Gradually their attitudes have modified the old ways and a new pattern is rapidly coming to take its place. In certain religious circles in the last century, dancing was looked upon as indecent and immoral. However, due to the attitudes of certain leading people in many communities in our day, dancing is not looked upon as either. Consequently, the accepted standard is changing. However, a person coming from a community in which dancing is looked upon as disreputable finds his attitudes in conflict with the mores of, let us say, a university town.

The accepted social code of one age was that "woman's place is in the home." The Woman's Movement, however, has seriously modified that in many places. Conflict, of course, attended this change. Not more than fifty years ago in America it was said that any man who is not lazy can make a living. With the change in our industrial organization, experience has shown that there are many men out of employment who really desire work and cannot find it at certain seasons of the year or in different periods of industrial activity. The consequence is that in different groups at the present time two different behavior patterns with respect to the workman are in conflict. Again, in the individualistic stage of our industrial development it was believed that the employer had a right to discharge any man whenever he pleased. Labor, however, as it has become organized, has taken a different attitude. Its leaders have urged that the working man has a stake in his job as much as the employer. These two patterns are in conflict at the present time. Whether the one will modify the other remains to be seen.

Again, the conflict of new fashions in behavior with the established mores of a group often lead to social problems. An example is provided by the new ideals of behavior with respect to the opposite sex, which conflict with the established sex-mores. The so-called "revolt of youth" manifests itself sometimes in a clash with what have long been considered the proprieties in sex conduct. Here the trouble is made by the coming in of ideas and standards of conduct at variance with those long held by the older generation. Those accustomed to the patterns acceptable to their generation are disturbed by the new attitudes of youth. Again, the Italians coming to this country have standards of chaperonage of daughters which are quite at variance with American customs. The Italian girls find the girls with whom they associate at school and in the neighborhoods in which they live going out in the evening, associating freely with young men, and sometimes wonder why their "old folks" are so strict with them. Often this leads to a conflict between the young Italian girls and their parents and raises problems of adjustment not easily solved.

ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

From what has been said it is apparent that attitudes are partly the product of the acceptance of behavior patterns by the individual on the basis of his hereditary characteristics, his experiences, and the treatment of the individual by the group. It is also apparent that the attitudes of forceful individuals ultimately determine the behavior pattern held by a group. These behavior patterns set the standard of each individual's con-

duct so long as the patterns are not challenged by a large and influential number of people. It is also apparent that the maladjustment between the individual's attitude and the pattern laid upon him by the group, and also the awkwardness with which the group endeavors to make him conform, provides us with our chief social problems. These conflicts between individual attitudes and accepted patterns of behavior give us the types of social problems arising from the clash of new attitudes and established patterns which we have surveyed in the previous chapters. Without an understanding of this fundamental relationship between attitudes and patterns of behavior, the student is likely to make many mistakes in attempts at social adjustment. How often reforms are advocated which leave these fundamental psycho-social facts out of consideration! Social adjustment between the individual and his surroundings is the eternal problem of life. Man's adjustment to his natural environment is a simple one. The adjustment between man and his fellows is complex. The former is one-sided; man adapts himself to what he cannot change in nature. He learns not to burn himself, not to step off a cliff, to go about obstacles. Or he bends nature to his will; he finds methods of overcoming gravitation, of harnessing the winds, of bridging the waters. He deals only with insensate, comparatively constant forces. In his social relations, however, he finds himself face to face with traditions, customs, modes of conduct, conventions, and usages which are the joint products of aggregations of beings like himself. Immutable and irrefragable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, though they seem, they can be changed. These patterns may be adjusted to the individual. What brutalities and inhumanities society has abolished! What enlargement of sympathy beyond the bounds of kindred and local group has developed! The sympathy of men for the victims of a disaster no longer is limited to neighbors or fellow-countrymen. A famine in India, deportations from Turkey, or a flood on the Yangtse excite the active sympathy of men around the world. Some people, *e.g.*, the Quakers, brought succor even to our late enemies, the Germans. Under the impact of understanding and Christian love the prostitute, despised and abhorred as "lost" and unclean, comes to be looked upon as a "sister," with potentialities of womanhood if we but know how to treat her. The criminal, often the product of inherited biological tendencies developed under unfavorable home or community surroundings, was once looked upon as entirely hopeless. Now it is coming to be seen that by proper treatment in certain cases he may be redeemed to a social life. These illustrations show that society adjusts itself to the individual. Hence, social adjustment is doubly difficult and involved. It means not only changing the attitude of the individual to

the frames of conduct approved by society, but also the changing of the group patterns of behavior for the individual.

Could we get a glimpse into the lives of unadjusted persons of normal mentality we should probably find in every case a skein of circumstances in their history, often apparently trivial to the untrained eye. These seemingly queer attitudes of the asocial individual are defense mechanisms built up to ease the personality in the face of a situation which causes pain or shame. Society thus by its lack of understanding of the reactions its behavior patterns are inducing in a sensitive soul is creating maladjustments which may permanently mar a personality and make of a person who has the native ability to develop into a socially well adjusted personality a warped and useless, or even menacing, thing. How important that society, especially all those who have to deal with growing children—parents, teachers, recreation leaders, neighbors, religious leaders, and industrial managers—should have some understanding of the social importance of wise treatment!

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant by a "social attitude?" by a "behavior pattern?"
2. Name the various factors which explain why we behave as we do.
3. What light does the discussion in the text throw upon the fact that the children of immigrants are more delinquent than the children of natives born? Upon the failure of some parents to control their children?
4. Point out the attitudes that come to be formed in the mind of the average person who has lost a leg, or has been blinded. How has the attitude of the public contributed to the attitude of the physically handicapped? What changes in social attitudes regarding cripples have been taking place of recent years?
5. What are the attitudes that are formed in the mind of the person who has served a term in prison? What is the attitude of the community toward the discharged prisoner? How do these attitudes contribute to the creation

of anti-social personality? What suggestions would you offer for the shaping of a program to correct this problem?

6. Explain the making of the criminal according to the doctrine outlined in the text.
7. In the light of the discussion in this Chapter why do we say that the following are unsocialized: (a) the criminal; (b) the chronic pauper; (c) the exploiter of his fellowmen?

CHAPTER 30

SOLUTIONS OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

All social problems grow out of *the* social problem—the problem of the adjustment of man to his universe, and of the social universe to man. The maladjustments in these relationships give us all our social problems—disease, poverty, family disorganization, race and group conflicts, crime, mental defect and disease, individual failure and the breakdown of our social institutions. That much, at least, social science has taught us.

HISTORICAL SOLUTIONS OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

Attempts to solve the problem of man's relationship to his situation are not new. Ever since he has reflected on the tangles of life, man has been guessing at the cause of the difficulty and has been devising methods to solve the problem. In philosophy and theology it has become known as "the problem of evil." When political philosophy arose, it involved the problem of the relationship of the individual to the political organization. When economics was born discussion centered around the relationship of the state to the economic activities of the individual, theory swinging from the *nationaleconomie* of the Physiocrats to the *laissez-faire* of the Classical Economists and back to limitation of the self-seeking of the individual by the state for the welfare of all. The problem became the center of discussion by religious philosophers and Utopians, giving rise to dreams of social organization as widely different as St. Augustine's *City of God* and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*. As the scientific method developed diagnoses and solutions as widely different as those of the economic materialism of Karl Marx and the hereditary determinism of the eugenicists took the place of these Utopian dreams. All these different theories of the origin of the social problem and plans for its solution are alike in one respect—they rest upon one explanation of the difficulty, and provide one method of solving the problem. That each of them contain a truth we may admit, but not the whole truth. Life is not so simple that its maladjustments may be understood by one theory, and solved by a panacea. Only modern knowledge with its deeper probing into the nature of man and into the complex nature of his surroundings could make that apparent. Man himself is a much more complicated machine than anyone but a modern scien-

tist could guess. Only recently has man begun to understand how immensely complex is the situation resulting from the tangled growth of traditions, customs, beliefs, and social organizations produced by the efforts of mankind through millennia of endeavors to order its life in this little-understood world. The human mind confronted by the muddle and without modern scientific knowledge of man and his inventions sought a short and simple way out. Most of these historic solutions are the result of the demand of man's mind for clarity and guidance. Let us look at some of these theories.

Religious Solutions. The problem of evil is to be found at the base of every religion. It is probable that out of man's attempts to solve the maladjustment between his purposes and his environment and from his attempt to explain the maladjustment religion arose. What else is the meaning of the rites and ceremonies designed to ward off disease, to promote the growth of crops, and the fertility of flocks? How else explain the widespread concept of what we call "sin," however varied may be the content of that concept, whether it be conceived of as "folly" as in Buddhism, as failure to come up to the demands of an ideal as among the Greeks, or alienation from God as with St. Paul. Evil is there. Everywhere it is lack of consonance between personal ideals and circumstance, whether the personal ideals be those of physical welfare or of spiritual communion with God. The conception of the origin of evil may vary widely. It may be due to *karma* among the Buddhists, to *Fate* among the Greeks, or to the *sin of Adam* among the Hebrews. The solution of the problem also differs from religion to religion. Among the philosophical Buddhists the problem is solved by a denial of the natural appetites and the social aspirations, and by absorption in contemplation of Deity until the individual attains *nirvana*. In most religions, however, the problem leads to active efforts to affect either an adjustment of the individual to the will of God, or to bend God's will to the need of the individual, or both. In Judaism and Christianity the solution lay in the expiation of the sin, which had created the maladjustment. However, as the theory that misery is the fruit of sin was put to the acid test of experience, questions were raised which were difficult to answer on this simple explanation. So far as we can tell from the Old Testament, the first great challenge to the theory came when the Hebrew kingdoms were destroyed by nations which were less "righteous" than the Hebrews. The problem of the individual righteous man, who in spite of his righteousness suffers greatly, is the theme of the profound book of Job. How can it be that a man who has adjusted his conduct to the will of God, as had Job, must suffer as he suffered? What is the matter

with the theory? A similar question arose to plague the Christian apologists over the suffering of the sinless Jesus. They answered it on the basis of vicarious suffering. So far as Jesus himself is revealed in the Gospels he had no complete answer to the question. The conflict between his wish as a young man to live, and his desire to maintain his individual integrity comes out in that cry on the cross, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The puzzling question still remains to vex us when we send millions of youth to death on the field of battle, or when we see millions die of disease, or when we see the honest toiler come down to an old age of want. The answer of religion is still "sin," but the content of the term has vastly widened to take in the selfishness and ignorance of men in organized society. That the answer of the historic religions has a truth, but not the whole truth, is plain in the light of modern knowledge. The conception of religion must be widened to take in the wide reach of what psychology and biology have told us about the nature of man, what the social sciences are just beginning to tell us about the nature of the social complex in the midst of which man lives. Then perhaps religion may be geared up with the social machinery to resolve the conflict between man and his environment, by supplying the motives and ideals which can modify both in the direction of better adjustment between man and his social milieu. So far religion has been too one-sided to serve the larger social purpose, although it has not failed any worse than most of the other proposed solutions.

Utopian Solutions. Religion seeks to solve the social problem by regulating existing groups and individuals in accordance with religious principles. Another type of solution is that of the Utopians, who feel that society as now constituted contains the germs of its own failure. And for this reason they would throw our ill-functioning social forms and institutions upon the scrap heap and start over with a new social order as perfect as the mind of man can make it.

A utopia is an imaginary society built on the lines of what is held to be perfection. It may be brought forth for various purposes: social reform, as in the case of the Hebrew prophets; emphasis on certain ethical principles, as with Jesus; concrete statement of a great social philosopher's theories, as with Plato; satirization of contemporary social life by comparison, as with More; expression of longings, as with Bacon; or argument for the establishment of a strong centralized church, as with St. Augustine. Whatever the purpose to be served, a utopia is always the joint product, in varying proportions, of the imagination and the intellect, and its realization can only be approached in accordance with the practicability of the ideal which it sets forth.

First in historical sequence come the *religious utopias*. That a utopia should be the next step following the attempt of the early Hebrew prophets on the basis of a reformed Hebrew state in the solution of the social problem is not surprising. The concept of a reformed Hebrew state gave way, on the destruction of the Hebrew kingdoms, to a Messianic dream. If the concept of sin and its undesirable consequences was not sufficient to change men's ways, perhaps the painting of the blissful state attainable by the following of religious precepts would be of some avail. The first among the religious utopians were the later of the so-called "literary prophets" of Israel. With Isaiah (740-700 B.C.) came the dawn of the Messianic hope. Here was social reconstruction to be effected by religious faith through the efficacy of ethical and spiritual forces. His perfect kingdom included a just king, absence of physical ailments, moral and intellectual improvement, abundance in nature, and universal peace. Jeremiah (626-586 B.C.) emphasized the importance of individual religion in attaining social perfection. Ezekiel carried this idea of individual responsibility on and prophesied the ideal state absorbed in the church. In that part of the book of Isaiah known as the work of Deutero-Isaiah, another utopia is set forth, depending upon the complete spiritualization of its citizens, including all races, and everlasting. Among all the prophets we are aware of a divine optimism which implies a change in human nature and a recognition of a Supreme Being. Utopia for them was the natural culmination of right living.

Following the prophets we have the apocalyptists who flourished from 210 B.C. to 1300 A.D. They are on the whole fantastic where the prophets had been concrete, imitative rather than creative, and pseudopigraphic, whereas their predecessors for the most part had written under their own names. They deal only with the remote future and their utopias are attainable only by supernatural convulsions and catastrophes which shall completely wreck the old order and institute a millennium. Their works were written for the most part to steady the faith of the people under oppression. Daniel (166 B.C.) taught that it was the duty of the faithful to wait in resignation for the divinely ordained collapse of earthly affairs, after which Israel would be delivered by supernatural help and have glory forever. The utopias of Enoch, Ezra, and Peter paint pictures of heaven and hell with assorted fantastic millenniums calculated to cheer the heart of the lowliest Jewish captive in the clutches of Babylon, Assyria, Macedonia, or Rome, as the case might be at different periods. The revelations of John, the last book of the New Testament, depict a utopia preceded by a millennium during which there would be resurrection for the righteous, and

judgment for the wicked. The New Jerusalem which he described was symbolic of pure spiritual bliss. The apocalyptists are of small value because they wrote only for their own time, gave free rein to uninstructed imagination, and glowingly described an end without offering a means of attainment.

The utopianism of Jesus is embodied in his conception of the Kingdom of God, which is the ideal state of perfect social and spiritual adjustment. He emphasized that its founding was dependent upon love of God and man, and that the practice of this essential prerequisite, and hence the attainment of the Kingdom, was the responsibility of each individual. The Kingdom was both present and future, and aimed at the social redemption of the earth. Love, penitence, obedience to God, humility, freedom from hypocrisy and deceit, freedom from mammonism, devotion, service, and cosmopolitanism are among the essential principles laid down for the realization of this utopia, which as an ideal at least we may safely say has had more influence in human life than any other.

Faith in God, freedom from lusts, and the practice of Christian ethics are the keystones of Augustine's "City of God." This militant treatise, however, is of little social value, being on the whole rather a poor re-statement of the ideas of its predecessors, and concerned less with the ideal society than with the establishment of a hierarchical church.

The only important attempt actually to establish a religious utopia on earth is that of Savonarola's (1452-1498) Florentine theocracy. Coming into control of the government of Florence Savonarola effected startling reforms through his rigid and Puritanical application of Christian precepts. It was a remarkable testimonial to the results achievable through applied Christianity, but it fell in the end because of its rigidity and intolerance.

Plato (427-447 B.C.) with his Republic stands as the model for all *philosophical utopians*. The Republic represents the concrete statement of a great social philosopher's theories. The search for justice was the keynote, and to effect this much-to-be-desired consummation the Republic was constructed. The Republic was a city-state, an association of ethically minded individuals who accepted the supremacy of the state on ethical grounds. The basic principle underlying the entire organization was the Idea of Good, and in accordance with this principle Plato felt that the individual welfare should be submerged in the social welfare, since the former depends upon the latter. The two fundamental means of attaining the social good are (1) communism—renunciation of family and prop-

erty and the submersion of the individual in the group—and (2) ethical education—for the selection of leaders and the physical and mental welfare of the citizens. Plato was thus more practical than the Prophets and, while his utopia is humanly unattainable because of the fundamental characteristics of human nature, he nevertheless set up a practical ideal which has affected social thinking ever since.

About the time of what is rather vaguely termed the end of the middle ages a remarkable series of circumstances combined to give impetus to a reawakened expression of utopianism in what is known as the *early modern utopias*. These circumstances were (1) the Crusades, (2) the journeys of Marco Polo, (3) the Black Death with its consequent labor shortage, and the growth of class consciousness, (4) the rise of the new learning with the entrance of Greek manuscripts into the western world after the fall of Constantinople, (5) the spread of knowledge, due to the invention of the printing press, and (6) the discovery of the American continents. These novel occurrences changed considerably the aspect of European life. The spirit of freedom was awakened, the desire to start afresh and create a new mode of life free from the imperfections of the old. In the religious field this found expression in the Protestant Reformation, and in the social field in a utopian plea for simplicity in civilization.

The *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, written in 1516 as a satire on the corrupt condition into which England had fallen under the Tudors, because of its soundness and constructiveness has given its name to all idealistic solutions of the social problems and has had a wide-reaching influence on social thought. It was based on several principles: (1) The community of property would result in the abolition of class and the equality of all citizens before the law. There would thus be a disdain of material wants, no use for money, no distinction of dress, and elimination of all the attendant evils of selfishness. (2) A ruling Prince, elected from an intellectual aristocracy by representatives of the people, would provide wise, and at the same time, centralized government. Utopia had the city-state form of organization. What was aimed at was equal social opportunity for all, not an absurd ideal of the absolute equality of all citizens. (3) The family would be state-controlled and supervised, thus insuring the eugenic soundness of offspring. (4) Universal and life-long education would provide for the mental and physical happiness of all. There was a six-hour work day in which everyone participated. (5) Religion was pantheism, reasonable, tolerant, and based on social service.

Francis Bacon with his *New Atlantis* (1623) sought social perfec-

tion through science and attempted to show that knowledge, properly applied, could do away with all the major social maladjustments. For this reason there must be a communism of knowledge effected through a great civically endowed college called "Solomon's House" which would be an educational, research, and governmental institution in one. Bacon failed to see, however, that science must be responsive to ethical principles, otherwise it tends toward the chaos which our own scientifically inspired civilization is attaining in some places.

Italian utopianism was represented at this period by Campanella with his *City of the Sun* (1623), the principal features of which are (1) centralized government by an enlightened ruler assisted by Power, Wisdom, and Love, (2) universal coeducation by the visualization method from the third year, with particular emphasis on natural science, (3) communism of wealth and family, and (4) astrology and the Christian religion for its guidance in matters supernatural.

James Harrington's *Oceana* appeared in England at the time of the rise of Puritanism (1656), and is really a magnified written constitution for the purpose of solving the many perplexing problems facing his country at that time. He plead for: (1) the sovereignty of the people through a perfected political government with definite written laws; (2) balance of property through proper economic distribution; (3) governmental devices of (a) secret ballot, (b) indirect election of officials, (c) rotation of officers, (d) two-chamber legislative system; (4) religious toleration limited around an established church, allowing liberty of private conscience; and (5) general education of boys for the purpose of perpetuating the principles of government and directing the energies of the citizens.

These are the most important of the utopians. Their service has been mainly that of setting an ideal, the value of which has in all cases depended upon its adaptation to social conditions and human nature. The utopians were all critics of their times, men filled with a divine discontent and a desire for social betterment, and men of broad and constructive imagination. If they have been dismissed as "dreamers" it is because they tended to fly too far from reality.

Evolutionary Solutions. Although the word *evolution* is linked with the name of Charles Darwin, the outstanding figure in that group of sociologists known as the "evolutionary group" is Herbert Spencer.

The scientific movement which had slowly been gaining headway during the first half of the nineteenth century had introduced not only new scientific technics in the shape of quantitative analysis and the inductive

method, but also had witnessed the growth of a new attitude among scientists; namely, an increasing consideration of nature as a dynamic process rather than a static group of phenomena. Thus it was that the mutability of organisms had been realized for some time before Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). In the social field this had been felt in a general way by Adam Smith, whose theory that the common human desire for self-improvement leads to social well-being and prosperity has transformed economics from a philosophy into a science at a time when social thinkers were becoming decidedly concerned over the economic maladjustment incident to the industrial revolution. Goodwin in 1793 philosophically explained poverty as the result of exploitation of labor for profit under government protection. The freeing of reason from political interference and the spirit of gain was in his opinion the panacea for social ills. Condorcet in 1794 had taken the similar view that improvement in social welfare would accompany human perfectability. Malthus, with the first really scientific sociological study on *The Principle of Population*, established a precedent in technic as well as offering startling conclusions which afforded a decided impetus to all subsequent activity in the field. By demonstrating that population increases in geometric ratio, whereas food supply increases only in arithmetic ratio, this preponderance of population growth being subject to the preventive checks of moral restraint and the positive checks of misery and vice, he launched two fundamental concepts, "the law of diminishing returns" in economics, and "the struggle for existence" in biology.

We mention these writers and their works thus briefly in order to show the change in attitude toward the solution of the social problem. They represent a groping toward a scientific principle which it remained for Charles Darwin to formulate and set forth in the shape of the "Evolutionary Concept." The essential fact for us here is that Darwin showed that man as well as the whole of nature is governed throughout by the same laws. It was made clear that man, as an organism at least, has developed from lower stages to his present form by the fundamental processes of natural and sexual selection in the struggle for existence.

That this view should be carried over from organic life to social life was only natural. It was Walter Bagehot who first attempted to show that society is also an evolutionary development. John Fiske pointed out that psychic changes have superseded physical in this development. Benjamin Kidd emphasized the influence of religious faith in psychic evolution.

Karl Marx, whose theories are sketched more completely in another part of this chapter, must be classed among the evolutionary thinkers

on the social problem, even though his doctrines do logically and eventually lead to revolution. He pointed out for the first time the doctrine of economic determinism as the basis of social evolution and argued that the solution of the social problem would work itself out only through successive economic stages.

It remained for Spencer to tell the story of society and elucidate the solution of the social problem most completely from the evolutionary standpoint. His theory of the universe is based on evolution. Spencer went to great lengths to show that this process goes on in every corner of creation. He argued that, in accordance with all existing forms, social forms and processes also develop according to natural selection and the survival of the fittest. He recognized the social problem as the poor adaptation of man to his surroundings. This is the cause of all unhappiness and friction. The problem is to establish equilibration. Spencer argued that this is possible because human nature is modifiable. Through reaction to external conditions equilibration is established first with animals, then with man, and finally with society, and this is secured through natural selection by the elimination of non-adapted individuals and social forms. Progress for this reason is natural and inevitable. The goal is "the ultimate happiness" which means the perfect reconciliation of the individual with social solidarity. Spencer's solution, then, in common with all the members of the evolutionary school of which he is the capstone and synthesizer is "let nature take its course." Evolution is the law of the universe, and since it is a process of change from indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to definite, coherent heterogeneity, *i.e.*, from disorganization to integrated efficiency, improvement is bound to come.

It is obvious that implicit belief in the evolutionary philosophy as represented by the foregoing writers is at least comforting, if not constructive. Remedial measures are for them merely gestures in the face of fate, which in its own good time will accomplish the desired changes through evolution. This means, as a logical corollary, a placid attitude of "hands off"—*laissez-faire*. And the great criticism of all *laissez-faire* philosophy is simply that it is not true to experience—social life is much too complex to be so easily explained by one principle. There are too many factors in the social problem to allow of its solution on the single premise of the survival of the fittest.

Socialistic Solutions. Let us disregard some of the historic socialistic schemes; the utopian schemes, none of which have a large following at the present time. There are two types of socialism at present which have considerable vitality. What has been called Fabian Socialism, sometimes

Guild Socialism, has to-day a wide following in many European countries, although strictly speaking it is British in origin. In theory it is state socialism, *i.e.*, it proposes that the state or municipality take over certain services and agencies of production, such as municipal utilities, coal mines, railroads, and other monopolies. In that respect it is not very different from socialism on the Continent before the Russian experiment. On the Continent this kind of socialism is known as "opportunist," or "possibilist" socialism. These terms indicate its method—not by violent measures, but by waiting until the opportunity arrives when state ownership seems to the people to be the only promising way out of a difficulty. It uses the ordinary political machinery to put its principles into operation.

In contrast as to method, not as to aims and purposes, stands the economic, or "scientific" socialism of Karl Marx and his followers. Marx himself held the opinion that the capitalistic system holds in its nature the seeds of its own destruction. He believed that monopolistic control of the agencies of production is economically inevitable. But monopolies under capitalistic control operating for profit leads as inevitably to the exploitation of the workers, who alone produce, and results in the end in the overthrow by the workers of the capitalistic régime and in their control of the agencies of production. That is why this type of socialism is sometimes called "revolutionary" socialism. In Marx's mind it was "evolutionary." The Russian Soviet Republic is the first actual experiment in this type of socialism.

In both these types of socialism it is clear that the fundamental basis of the solution is a change in the economic system. The socialists of both types believe that economic maladjustment is fundamental to all other adjustments. They are hard put to it to explain how their proposed change in the economic system will cure such maladjustments as come about from the biological inferiority of certain stocks. This comes out, for example, in Bonger's treatment of the matter in his *Criminality and Economic Conditions*. While he devotes a chapter to pathological criminals, he says that they are not really criminals and subjects for criminology. Criminals are made only by economic conditions. Nothing could better exemplify the one-sided diagnosis and solution of the social problem. It should be said, however, that such Fabian socialists as the Webbs, while stressing the importance of the economic factors in social maladjustment, have a place in their scheme of reform for biological inferiority, for medicine, for psychology, and sociology. While economic reorganization is fundamental, they do not ignore the other factors.

THE MODERN SCIENCES AND THEIR APPROACHES TO THE SOLUTION OF THE
SOCIAL PROBLEM

Again and again in recorded human history there occurs a climax in the culture of a people which marks an epoch. Familiar instances are the age of Pericles in Greece, the Golden Age of Augustus in Rome, the Italian Renaissance, the Elizabethan Age, and the Industrial Revolution in England. The advance in scientific knowledge began early in the latter half of the nineteenth century and is still running its course. During these eight decades man has learned more about the universe in which he lives than had ever been discovered before. With indefatigable industry scientists unlocked the mysteries of nature hitherto hidden from his eyes. They have devised scientific methods which have affected every phase of human thought.

A number of the modern sciences touch the social problem. Among these are biology, physiological chemistry, medicine, psychology, psychopathology, economics, education, politics, and sociology.

Biology with its theories of heredity throws light on why certain families produce leaders and inventors, great thinkers, and captains of industry, while other families give us generation after generation our paupers, insane, mental defectives, ne'er-do-wells, loafers, social and economic cumberers of the ground. It has called attention to the importance of the human stock in the origin and the solution of the social problem.

Physiological chemistry has studied the function of the secretion of the various glands of the human body. Lately it has been giving attention to the function of the secretions of the ductless glands in regulating the physiological balance of the bodily organism. Certain enthusiasts in this field have held that conduct is the result of the way in which these various glands function. The more conservative scholars, however, judge that much careful study must yet be made before confident statements as to the bearing of gland functioning on conduct can be made.

The psychologists in the last quarter of a century have analyzed the working of the human mind as never before. As a result we now have new insight into how the human mind works, the nature of the emotions, what is intelligence, and how intelligence, emotion, and action are determined. Especially the students of abnormal psychology, the psychopathologists, have uncovered the genesis and development of those abnormal mental states which lead so inevitably to social maladjustment. Here again there has been a tendency among some of the more enthusiastic to claim that psychology can furnish the solution of the social problem.

They point out the large number of mentally defective or mentally disordered persons among the social failures. They leave one with the impression that psychology and psychopathology have said the last word on the solution of the social problem. They agree in part with the hereditists that control of the human stock is one answer to social ills. They point out, however, that mental and emotional disorders may arise in cases where there is no known hereditary defect. They also place much more emphasis than the eugenists on the part played in mental disorder by one's experience.

There is a certain school of economic determinists, the Marxian socialists, who believe that all social maladjustment is due to the economic organization. Their panacea is the reorganization of the economic life of society. The present capitalistic organization of society, in their view, accounts for poverty, crime, sexual irregularity, and even mental defect and disorder. With our economic arrangements based upon state ownership of the instruments of production, all these evils and many others would automatically disappear. The greed and selfishness of men, now generated and emphasized by our capitalistic system with its emphasis upon profits, would disappear, and in their stead would appear unselfishness and mutual aid, kindness and coöperation, in place of competition. Here again we have a one-sided explanation of social maladjustment, and a unilateral solution.

Again, there is a class of sociologists who hold that the social circumstance of an individual account for his behavior, making him a good citizen, or a social parasite. They tend to belittle the influence of heredity, the importance of psychology, the economic organization of society and the chemistry of the human body. Their diagnosis of the social problem is based upon a one-sided study of social organization in its influence upon the individual. They are as lop-sided as any of these other special pleaders.

To one acquainted with the progress of the various sciences bearing upon the understanding of human conduct, all of these special approaches to the social problem are inadequate. Man in organized society is a much more complex being than any of these advocates would have us believe. His conduct is the result of a large number of factors. First, he is an animal. As a biological organism he operates in much the same way as other biological organisms of the same general order of mammals. Like all others he has two great hungers—food and sex. But he is a more complex biological organism than any other by reason of his much more highly developed brain. In a much greater degree than other animals, his conduct is determined not only by instincts, but by reason and social sanctions, such as shame, approval and disapproval, tradition, custom, and

prestige among his fellows. Many of these other factors in his conduct conflict with aboriginal instincts and tendencies. Consider the infinitely complex nature of his brain as compared with that of lower animals. How delicate must be the adjustments between the millions of brain cells to insure the coördinated activities necessary to successful human conduct in a highly complex social order like that of the twentieth century! How easily upset is that delicate balance between body and brain is to be seen in the inmates of a hospital for the insane. How necessary that the quality of the brain be of a high order in modern society is revealed by the conduct of imbeciles and morons—and it may be added, by the failures of those who are not quite on the level of the mental defective. Moreover, how upon this delicate organism beat those social contrivances, the product of man's social experiments—the ambitions, the ideals, aspirations, standards, customs, traditions of the group! Now, throw him out of his group with its wonted complex of social arrangements, as happens in the vast migration movements of the present. You have a situation which calls for adjustments of the most radical nature, calling for a high degree of mental plasticity and originality on the part of the individual. Only the well integrated personality can meet that situation satisfactorily. The others fail—fail when they probably would not had they remained in a situation to which they were adjusted.

Consider also the situation in a highly dynamic society, as compared with one in which the situation is changing only slowly, or not at all. Every swift change in social life demands adjustments requiring a high level of mental ability. Many fail to make those adjustments or else make the adjustments of parasites.

These considerations make it apparent that scientific approach to social maladjustment must be many-sided. The social scientist must take all the facts of the social situation into consideration. He must know the nature of the individual as the psychologist and psychopathologist, as the biologist and the physiological chemist knows him. He cannot ignore economics and politics. He must understand social psychology. He must know his sociology—how human aggregates come together, spread, develop social institutions, organize for various purposes, and control their members. Even then with the synthesis of all the knowledge available he will have difficulty. But that way lies hope of success.

SCIENTIFIC SOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

It is doubtful if we know enough at present to solve the problem of how to adjust man to his surroundings or how to adjust the social machin-

ery to each individual so as to give each one a chance to develop whatever capacity he has. Do we know enough of heredity to enable even the most enthusiastic eugenicist to say just what stocks should be selected for elimination, just what matings should be made in the interest of race betterment and social welfare? He will insist that hereditary imbeciles should not reproduce, and perhaps indicate a few types of the hereditary insane which should not propagate. But if the most radical elimination were practiced, are we sure that social conditions might not be producing more? Do we know enough of the interrelation of social stress and conduct to enable us to say just what strains should be permitted to different people? The World War showed us that certain people can be subjected with safety to much more severe strain than others. How can we pick them out beforehand and adjust social circumstance to their capacities? In a general way we know that under certain conditions immigrants have a tendency to be social failures, but we see others who under the same circumstances succeed. It seems that illegitimate children and orphans have a higher expectancy of criminality than legitimate and non-orphans. Yet, there are enough cases to the contrary to lead us to suspect that our knowledge is not yet of that exactitude and certainty to enable us to predict what will happen under a given set of circumstances. Innumerable other examples might be given to show the necessity of further and more exact knowledge before we can expect to do as good a job of social engineering as the bridge-builder can do of mechanical engineering. Research and experiment, then, are the first steps in a scientific attempt to solve the social problem.

Nevertheless, in spite of the great gaps in our knowledge, we know enough to make a beginning. Since we must attempt in the interests of society to solve this problem of the adjustment of man and the world in which he lives, is it not good sense to use all the knowledge we have, rather than some highly speculative guesses? If we must experiment, will it not be wise to be guided in our experiments by all that science at present can afford us—all the sciences?

Does it not seem reasonable that one who attempts to make suggestions should take into account, for example, what biology has discovered as to the hereditary transmission of capacity and defect? So with all the other sciences which throw light on the nature of man and of his world. We should not be foolish enough to attempt to build a house without reference to the law of gravitation, or to what is known about the stresses which building material will stand. The builder takes into account pertinent

facts from every science. So in the solution of the social problem—the adjustment of man to his world—all sciences must share.

It is clear enough that in general terms the social problems we have discussed grow out of maladjustment of the individual and his circumstances. Either he is by nature and training not adapted to the world in which he lives and is expected to function, or else the universe in which he finds himself is not adjusted to his capacities. One of the great contributions of Darwin to our understanding of the infinite variety of life on our planet was the theory that the production of beings adapted to a given situation came about by a rigid natural selection for death of those not adaptable. Curiously, however, adaptation to the circumstances of life gradually becomes artificial. The birds learn to build nests and to migrate from cold to warm climates. Some of the animals burrow in the ground and lay up stores of food. Indeed, as Kropotkin long ago pointed out, animals learn to coöperate through what he called "mutual aid" and thus circumvent a rigid natural selection. Thus wolves hunt in packs, cattle graze in herds and on being attacked by enemies gather together with horns out and with the calves on the inside of the circle. Cattle, horses, and sheep in a storm gather together in a body, apparently for bodily warmth, and to prevent straying. Moreover, certain animals attach themselves to others as parasites and thus prevent destruction of themselves. In these and other ways the lower animals to a certain degree bend Nature to their purposes.

Man has carried the process of mutual aid and the adaptation of Nature to his purposes to a greater extent than any of the lower animals. The story of mankind from pre-history to modern civilization has been an account of the progressive development of mutual aid and the conquest of the material universe in a unique degree. The former has given him his sentiments of mercy and kindness, concern for the helpless, the aged, the child, the weak—and tolerance for the socially worthless. The latter has enabled him to spread to all parts of the globe and contrive living conditions and luxuries impossible to any other being. His very success in the control of Nature has produced some of his social problems. His exploitation of Nature's resources has made it possible for him to live and multiply in regions of the earth naturally hostile to man as a mere animal. Millions can be supported where it was possible without his modern control of Nature for only hundreds to exist.

Organization of economic life, while making possible the production of undreamed of quantities of consumption goods, and while permitting the

multiplication of population to an unheard of degree, has not proceeded with equal pace in the distribution of goods in accordance with economic need, and has given little attention to the adjustment of population to economic production and distribution. Man has not progressed in the adjustment of means to social ends as he has in the adjustment of means to economic production. He has not given the same attention to the improvement of the racial stock as he has to the conquest of physical Nature. His sympathetic toleration and aid of the unfit has not been guided by scientific considerations. While he has applied all he can learn from science to the control of Nature for his purposes, he has neglected what science has to tell him about the control of the human element. While man has long ago abandoned the doctrine of laissez-faire in his struggle with physical Nature, he has continued to deal with human nature largely on that basis. The consequence is that much of human nature is not adapted to the complex conditions of modern life, and man's social organization is not adjusted to securing a race adapted to modern life, and is only partially adjusted to training human beings for successful struggle with its conditions.

On the basis of modern knowledge what is needed, then, to solve the social problem is: (1) measures calculated to produce individuals of such native capacity as can under the proper conditions adjust themselves to the complex conditions of modern life; (2) such adjustment of our social organization as will provide for each individual the opportunities to develop himself to his utmost capacity and to direct his efforts to the highest social purposes.

Implicit in these two suggestions are a number of things: (1) Negative eugenics, *i.e.*, either by sterilization, segregation, or education to limit the propagation of stock innately unfit to cope with modern conditions of life. (2) Positive eugenics, *i.e.*, promotion of such selection of mates as modern biological knowledge indicates will produce capable children. (3) The perfection of our educational system in the direction of preparing every individual to make the most of his capacities in modern society. Such educational system probably will have to compromise all agencies which mold public opinion, including not only the school, but also the press, the platform, the screen, the stage, and the radio. Such education must endeavor to reach not only the students in the schools but also the workers and leaders in the active conduct of affairs. It must be depended on so to modify the social ideals, customs, and attitudes established in the mores of the people as to meet the changed conditions of society growing out of new inventions, new knowledge, and new industrial processes. (4) The

modification of our political machinery, such as the law and administrative agencies, to keep pace with new knowledge and to put into effect the changes made necessary by scientific investigation. (5) Research agencies to explore the fields of human action, motivation, and organization. Much more study must be given to human heredity before we shall know just how to control population. We have just begun the probing into psychology, especially social psychology. How little we know about how social ideals are produced, how customs are established, how traditions form, and how the individual is affected by the play of social influences upon his developing personality! We have only guesses as to the results of our present institutions, such as orphanages, almshouses, jails, prisons, factories, stores, and even homes, upon the inmates. Here are great social experiments going on all about us with but very little attempt to learn how they affect the human beings they touch. In short, we do not know enough yet to enable us to say with confidence just what changes ought to be made to solve the social problem. (6) Finally we need to devise methods whereby the results of scientific research may be made the property of the people. Tuberculosis is yielding, not to the knowledge of its nature and how to prevent it in possession of the doctors, but to the dissemination of that knowledge among the people generally. While we know enough now about insanity to prevent much of it, mental disorder still occurs partly because the knowledge of how to prevent it is not widely disseminated among the people. Some of us are certain that jails are a social menace, but the people are quite unaware that there is anything wrong with them. We know enough about sterilization now to enable us to say that some mental defectives may be sterilized with great benefit to society, but the people—and many judges—do not know it. So with a great many other matters. What we do not know yet we must learn. What we learn must become common property.

These suggestions as to how to solve the social problem are not such as will appeal to panacea-hunters and to the "for-God-sakers." There is no short-cut to a solution, in spite of the number and vociferousness of short-cut prophets. If it has taken the long and patient research and experimentation of hundreds of physicists and chemists to solve certain problems of our physical universe, who is foolish enough to suppose that the vastly more complicated problem of human relationships can be solved in a day? In that quarter only, however, lies hope. The long and tedious way ahead should appeal to those spirits who yearn for a more perfect social order—the followers of Utopia, those dreamers of the Kingdom of God who can with patience possess their souls. For the rest—those who

look for instant remedies, who must find a short-cut to the Kingdom of God—one can only hope that their tribe will not increase.

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QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is meant in the text by "the social problem?" In what sense do social problems grow out of the social problem?
2. Why is sin no longer an adequate explanation of the lack of social adjustment?
3. Why can you not take any of the one-sided explanations of the social problem?
4. Of what value were the various Utopias, if we cannot accept their various solutions of the social problem?
5. What is the difficulty with the socialistic solution of Marx?
6. Why is research so important a step at this time in any attempt to solve our social problems?

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